Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns

Edited by
ANDREW FAULKNER
& OWEN HODKINSON

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Glossary

compression: (called "**summary**" in the glossary of *SAGN*) a form of **rhythm** whereby the story-time is shorter than the fabula-time.

durative narration: a special class of **iterative narration** in which the repeated event is described as being repeated indefinitely, such as the characteristic activity of a god.

du-Stil: hymns addressed directly to gods in the second person, invoking the gods and asking for their intervention, are said to be in the *du-Stil*, as opposed to the ***er-Stil***. This is often associated with cult hymns.

er-Stil: hymns praising the gods in the third person are said to be in the *er-Stil*, as opposed to the ***du-Stil***.

fabula: all events which are recounted in the **story**, abstracted from their disposition in the **text** and reconstructed in their chronological order; where ellipsis occurs (see **rhythm**), the fabula can include also events beyond those recounted in the **story**.

focalizer: the person (the narrator or a character) through whose "eyes" the events and persons of a narrative are "seen."

frequency: the relation between the number of times an event happens and the number of times it is narrated: this may be **singulative**, **repetitive**, **iterative**, or **durative**.

iterative narration: when repeated events are told only once.

narratees: the addressees of the narrator. We may distinguish between *external* and *internal, primary* and *secondary* (tertiary etc.), and *overt* and *covert* narratees. Compare **narrator**.

narrator: the person who recounts the events of the **story** and thus turns them into a **text**. We may distinguish between *external* narrators (who are not characters in the story they tell) and *internal* narrators (who are), *primary* narrators (who tell the main **story)** and *secondary* (tertiary etc.) narrators (who tell embedded narratives), *overt* narrators (who refer to themselves and their narrating activity, tell us about themselves, and openly comment upon their story) and *covert* narrators. A special type of overt narrators are self-conscious narrators, who are aware that they are narrating and reflect on their role as narrator. All narrators are also **focalizers**.

prior narration: the narration of events which still have to take place at the moment of narration.

repetitive narration: when one event is told more than once.

rhythm: the relation between **story**-time and **fabula**-time, which is usually measured in e.g. the amount of text per hour of fabula. An event may be told as a scene (story-time = fabula-time), **summary** (**compression** of narration) (story-time < fabula-time), slow-down (story-time > fabula-time), or ellipsis, i.e., not told at all

(no story-time is devoted to a segment of fabula-time). Finally there may be a pause, when the action is suspended to make room for an extended description (no fabula-time is devoted to a segment of story-time).

simultaneous narration: the narration of events which are taking place at the moment of narration.

singulative narration: an event that happens once is told once.

story: the events as disposed and ordered in the **text** (contrast: **fabula)**. The story consists of the main **story** and embedded narratives. In comparison to the fabula, the events in the story may differ in **frequency** (they may be told more than once), **rhythm** (they may be told at great length or quickly), and order (the chronological order may be changed).

subsequent narration: the narration of events which have already taken place at the time of narration.

summary: see **compression**.

text: the verbal representation of the **story** (and hence **fabula)** by a **narrator**.

Introduction

A. Faulkner and O. Hodkinson

The aim of the present book is to investigate widely and through a series of case-studies the roles and techniques of narrative throughout the Greek hymnic tradition, from the so-called Homeric hymns to the Neo-Platonic hymns of Proclus; the scope of the volume extends from the literary tradition, including the Homeric and the Orphic hymns and those of Callimachus, Mesomedes, Aelius Aristides, and Proclus, to hymns on papyrus or inscriptions, including the Greek Magical Papyri; it does not include the separate Christian hymnic tradition. The aim of the volume is pursued through contributions on various hymnic texts, whose approaches differ based on the nature of the text (in particular, to what extent they are constituted by narrative or can be characterised as narratives), and on the amount of scholarship they have received to date. Some types of Greek hymn (especially the Homeric and Callimachean hymns) have received far more scholarly attention than others, with some focus on the role of the narrative parts within a wider hymnic structure, and on narrative technique within those narrative parts. To offer original contributions on the narrative technique of these texts necessarily entails the re-examination of well-studied narratives. Other hymns have received less literary analysis or study in narratological terms, as is most strikingly the case for the Orphic or magical hymns. For this reason, one of the book's avenues of investigation is cumulative and comparative and concerns the Greek hymnic tradition as a whole: what (qualitatively and quantitatively) different and similar uses of narrative are found in examples of the genre by different authors, in different contexts and periods? It is also the case that some texts included here (such as the *Orphic Hymns* or hymns of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*) in fact contain very little in the way of narrative. But given the extremely significant place of the narrative element from the Homeric hymns onwards, and the status of hymnic texts with narrative sections as models and unavoidable comparanda for any later author in the Greek hymnic tradition, the drastic reduction or even omission of this narrative component is significant and may at times be a conscious differentiation strategy. In such cases, though the investigation into narrative cannot be taken further, both the "negative result," that is the fact of this differentiation, and the consequent questions raised—why this strategy might have been chosen, and what takes the place of the narrative part, both structurally and in functional terms—belong to our overall project of investigating narrative across the Greek hymnic tradition.

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The volume is designed to be accessible to students and scholars without particular expertise in the texts under consideration, but aspires principally to advance the study of hymns and their narratives. The contributions therefore at times offer foundational information concerning matters such as date, circumstances of composition, or wider context (e.g. *Orphic Hymns* among the *Orphica* in general; Proclus' hymns within Neoplatonism), and yet pursue detailed and specialist argumentation. There is no perfect balance in this respect, but it is hoped that the book will prove useful to a varied readership.

Hymns and Narratology

The objective of the volume raises the question of the role and usefulness of narratology in analysing ancient texts, and specifically Greek hymns. In order to frame the studies of this volume, it will be useful first to summarise the history of narratology within the field of classics. Narratology arose in studies of modern literature, especially seminal works by Gérard Genette and Mieke Bal;[1] it emerged out of structuralist analysis as a formalist and linguistic "science" of narrative, as a tool of interpretation to be used along with other (traditional and new) approaches, rather than as a mode of interpretation or an end in itself. It posits universal categories which can analyse any narrative text, from the simplest to the most complex, for example in terms of the positions and perspectives of the narrator(s) vis-à-vis the narrative—is s/he a character or not, does s/he belong to the same world, place, time as that of the narrative, does s/he have privileged insight into the minds of all characters or the future, does s/he narrate from a detached perspective or view events coloured by the responses of one or more character(s)?—and in terms of the addressees or "narratees" and *their* positions vis-à-vis the narrative—who are they, are they addressed directly ("dear reader"), do they belong to the world of the narrator or of the narrative (if different), are they given identity and individualised or do they remain anonymous and only present implicitly through the act of narration? More recent developments in narratological theory have seen it become more flexible and sophisticated than the rigid framework it is sometimes taken to be—by its critics and some of its practitioners alike. Such developments have arisen from questioning the convincingness of the "universal categories" narratology imposes on a vast range of texts in chronological, cultural, linguistic, and

1 Genette 1980 [1972], 1988 [1983]; Bal 2009 [1985].

generic terms; and allowing for individual texts constructing and reshaping the categories used by its readers, rather than just following a set of categories.[2]

Narratology probably came to classics first through the work of Massimo Fusillo and Jack Winkler, that is on classical epic and the ancient novel respectively,[3] but most prominently in the substantial body of work by Bal's pupil Irene de Jong,[4] focusing primarily on the Homeric epics and combining theoretical innovation with traditional classical philological methods in order to offer new insights into those poems.[5] Understandably, most work in classics employing narratology has remained within the two fields of epic and the novel, but this has broadened out in recent years, especially with De Jong's multi-volume series *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*,[6] which aims to offer a history of Greek narrative accessible among others to students of its successors in western literature, including and especially the (modern) novel.[7] This series includes sections on all Greek genres consisting of or containing a narrative element, including the first narratological studies of ancient Greek hymns—a chapter in each volume to date on the *Homeric Hymns* and on Callimachus (*Aetia* and *Hymns*)[8]—though no other hymn is considered in any volume, and hymn is not treated as a separate genre but included under the rubric of epic poetry. Other studies in the field of classics to make use of narratology are on the increase, especially in a series of projects and publications originating at Heidelberg with Jonas Grethlein,[9] one of which includes another of the few narratological studies of Greek hymns, in a chapter by De Jong.[10] Other studies of hymnic narrative to employ narratology have been isolated, among them Vergados' article on the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*,[11] originating in the conference which gave rise to this volume, and built around the narratological concept of focalization.

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2 See Gibson 1996 and the discussions in Herman 1999 for examples that take narratology beyond its traditional, structuralist origins.

3 Fusillo 1985; Winkler 1985.

4 See especially De Jong 1987a [2004]; 1991; 2001.

5 For a very succinct and clear example of how De Jong's use of narratology changed traditional thinking on Homer, Schmitz 2007: 60–62; see the surrounding chapter, 43–62, in general on narratology and its development and application within classics.

6 Volumes to date: De Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004; De Jong and Nünlist 2007; De Jong 2012.

7 De Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004: xi.

8 Nünlist 2004, 2007; Harder 2004, 2007, 2012; De Jong 2012.

9 See e.g. Grethlein 2006; Grethlein and Rengakos 2009; Grethlein and Krebs 2012.

10 De Jong 2009: 107–113.

11 Vergados 2011a.

Narratological studies within classics have sometimes received a hostile reception; sometimes this is part of a general "anti-theory" stance, which as Eagleton remarks "usually means an opposition to other people's theories and an oblivion of one's own."[12] More coherent objections have attacked not the theory itself but particular applications of narratology to the analysis of classical texts as being superficial, not adding anything except a veneer of technical jargon, being too rigid in applying an apparently universal framework, and/or using the terminology loosely or incorrectly.[13] Other critiques have recognised the value of narratology as an analytical tool, but commented on particular studies not going beyond a simple narratological analysis to the next step, that of interpretation (in the light of other approaches, theories, or research questions).[14] As long as narratological analysis is seen as a first step rather than an end in itself, to be combined with other approaches in moving towards an interpretation, it is not so susceptible to the more cogent of the critiques it receives. Scholars of the classical texts most like the modern novels upon which narratology was developed—the extended narratives of epic and the ancient novel—have by and large accepted the useful contribution of narratology (in the right hands) to their fields and indeed in many cases absorbed much of its terminology. The contributions to this volume employ the framework and insights of narratology to greatly varying extents and degrees of relevance to their central arguments, reflecting the very different amounts and natures of their texts' narrative content. Besides traditional applications of narratology as a framework for analysis and comparison, the chapters on texts that play with and construct their own narratological categories based on the generally stricter framework of the *Homeric Hymns*, as those on texts at the outer limits of what most would be happy to call "narrative," allow for greater autonomy of the individual text than narratological analysis is sometimes taken to imply. For example, both the contributions on Callimachus in different ways explore the poet's construction of a shifting narrative voice that complicates categories kept more distinct in his Homeric models; the chapter on Aelius Aristides shows how his experiments with the hymn form, while also implicitly acknowleding these models, in for instance following their division into sections in which the narrator traditionally may and may not be overt, in fact explore the limits of just how "overt" an

12 Eagleton 2008: xii.

13 E.g. Goldhill 2010 on some of the chapters in Grethlein and Rengakos 2009.

14 E.g. Grethlein 2012 on De Jong 2012; Feeney 2008 on De Jong and Nünlist 2008; Scodel 2005 on De Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004. Altogether the reviews mentioned here and in the previous note illustrate nicely the position of narratology in classics as a whole—i.e. outside studies specifically of epic or the novel.

overt narrator need be; while the chapters on the *Orphic Hymns* show these texts' strings of epithets in the traditional place of hymnic narrative to be at least somewhat more than mere strings of epithets, and thus substitutes for narrative by more than just their position.

As for the specific case of Greek hymns, there are several reasons why the application of narratology may be fruitful, at least for some texts. Many hymns, beginning with the longer *Homeric Hymns*, contain a significant narrative component, sometimes the largest portion of the text. There have, of course, been many important studies of narrative technique in such hymns that are not explicitly narratological,[15] but interrogating the same texts using different analytical techniques and research questions may well shed new light on even the most well-studied texts, as has been the case with narratological analysis of Homeric epic. There is also a limited corpus of Greek hymns, all belonging to a tradition going back to the *Homeric Hymns*, against which most later authors must have been consciously defining and differentiating their compositions. The advantages of comparing their narrative techniques beginning with narratology's formal system of analysis (just like other formal analysis, e.g. in terms of metre, repetition of formulae, structural devices such as ring composition, and so on) are thus enhanced further by application to this closed and self-reflexive body of texts, just as comparison between the two Homeric epics or between them and Apollonius of Rhodes in narratological terms can bring interesting results.

An additional reason for applying narratological analysis to certain hymns is their belonging to another set of texts with which they have been and can still further usefully be compared: e.g. the *Homeric Hymns* and Homeric epic, Callimachus' *Hymns* and *Aetia*.[16] Comparison of the *Homeric Hymns* to the Homeric epics—the most extensively analysed classical texts in narratological terms so far—has shown both confirmations of and divergences from comparisons based on other methodologies, as well as asking some different questions of the texts. For instance, De Jong has pointed out that Nicholas Richardson's observation that the *Homeric Hymns* stand between Homer and Greek lyric poetry when compared using linguistic analysis[17] is repeated in the conclusions of a narratological comparison of the respective treatments of narrative space in the two genres.[18] Or again, on the vexed question of the unity of the *Homeric*

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15 See on the major *Homeric Hymns* the seminal study of J. Clay (1989).

16 The chapters mentioned above, nn. 8 and 10, all do this to a greater or lesser extent.

17 Richardson 2010: 8.

18 De Jong 2012: 53.

Hymn to Apollo,[19] Nünlist's observations both that this hymn is strikingly different from the other *Homeric Hymns* in narratological terms, and that this striking narrative technique obtains in both the separate halves of the hymn posited by some,[20] must at least now be taken into consideration in that debate.

A further consideration which makes it worthwhile to analyse narrative in Greek hymns among other narratives (by whatever methodology), rather than in isolation, is the insights that can be gained both by those working on hymns and those working on epic and other later narrative forms. Scholarship on Greek hymns has understandably developed its own language and techniques of formal analysis for describing their structure and their narrative components (on which see further below and glossary, above), because they are in form and function, and at least in some senses also in genre, quite distinct from other forms, and because their narratives often fulfil a very specific role within a wider text and are confined to a particular part of that text. But while scholarship on the *Homeric Hymns* has frequent recourse to that on Homer, and that on Callimachus' *Hymns* likewise with other Callimachean works, contextualising Greek hymns within the whole body of Greek narrative has not really been attempted, in the way in which narrative techniques across Greek epic, historiography, and novels have increasingly been compared. Further, in terms of the history of Greek narrative and narrative traditions founded upon it, hymns can play a very important part, since in narratological terms they are striking and unlike anything else until some experimental postmodern novels.[21] For instance, their occasional use of "second-person" narration, sometimes for a sustained period of narrative, is of course unsurprising in the context of scholarship on ancient hymns, having as it does very good, context-specific motivations; but when such passages are viewed as a part of the history of narrative literature as a whole, these motivations do not make the use of second-person narration any less original or unique. A similar observation can be made of hymns' frequent and sometimes extended uses of simultaneous or present tense narration, and sometimes of durative narration (see glossary for these terms), in contrast to the predominant mode for almost all narrative, that is subsequent and singulative.

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19 Cf. e.g. West 1975 and Janko 1982 for two original hymns, Miller 1986 and Clay 1989 for unity.

20 Nünlist 2004: 40–42. See further De Jong 2009: 107–113 on this hymn.

21 Novels with extended second-person narration are generally a phenomenon of the late 20th century and after (e.g. George Perec's 1967 *A Man Asleep*; Jay McInerney's 1984 *Bright Lights, Big City*); see Schofield 1998 with further refs.; similarly with simultaneous / present tense narration (e.g. Hilary Mantel's 2009 *Wolf Hall*; David Mitchell's 2010 *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet*).

Finally, if narratology can serve in the interpretation of Greek hymns—as the few very illuminating studies to attempt this so far suggest it might—then the fact that it has been so little attempted is reason enough to broaden the experiment to take in other hymns and other authors. As noted above, only the *Homeric Hymns* and Callimachus' *Hymns* have so far received any narratological analysis—and that primarily within the *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* series, which uses very broad generic categories. While one of the merits of narratology and of that series in particular is that the analysis can draw different lines between texts than those drawn by genre (e.g. in showing the great similarity of Apollonius' and Herodotus' narrative techniques),[22] and while the hymns discussed in this volume do belong to other, broader genres (epic, lyric, oratory) as well as the hymnic, comparison among the (sub-)genre of hymns in terms of narrative and sometimes using narratology (our aim) may be at least as instructive as comparison between hymns and the broader generic and metrical categories to which these texts belong (the aim of the *SAGN* series). Thus this volume for the first time brings together Greek hymns from all periods and a wide range of authors and contexts for such a comparison.

Hymnic Genre and Narrative

The exploration in this volume of how narrative operates in Greek hymns supposes a set of generic markers which bind texts diverse in their form, function, content, and chronology. The category of "hymn" is by no means rigid and in fact frequently crosses the boundaries of traditional genres in Greek literature. Greek hymns can stand on their own as individual literary compositions or functional pieces, but can also be integrated as distinct entities within larger wholes, as in the case of the hymn to the Muses at the outset of Hesiod's *Theogony* or the great many hymns embedded in fifth-century dramatic texts. Greek hymns are also diverse in their formal elements. The earliest texts treated in this book, the so-called *Homeric Hymns*,[23] are in their language, metre, and narrative features closely related to other early hexameter literature and are in many respects dissimilar to the remains of Philicus'

22 De Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004: 546.

23 The longer *Homeric Hymns* date between the 7th and 5th centuries BC. See Faulkner 2011b: 7–16.

3rd-century BC hymn to Demeter in choriambic hexameters catalectic, or the hymns of the Greek magical papyri.[24] And yet we recognize all of these as hymns.

Important determinants in our modern classification of texts as hymns are a divine addressee (often signalled by an opening invocation or closing request) and content which praises or defines the deity addressed. Typically hymnic structure and language are sometimes used to praise semi-divine heroes, but divinity is nonetheless the underlying justification for hymnody. Achilles receives hymnic praise at the outset of Simonides' Plataean elegy (frr. 10–11 W^2), where however his divine pedigree as the son of Thetis is highlighted.[25] Non-hymnic poetry such as the Homeric epics, Pindar's epinician odes and tragedy of course themselves narrate or represent actions of the gods and reflect upon divine influence in the world, and even in some instances contain short hymns or isolated structural features characteristic of hymns,[26] but their emphasis across the works as a whole is on the world of humans.

Within such broad parameters, structural features can vary greatly. The longer *Homeric Hymns* are, for example, characterized by a third-person promise to sing of the god or goddess praised, a focus upon the birth or characteristic activities of the divinity in the narrative section,[27] and a closing second-person request to the deity.[28] The very different paean to Apollo by Aristonous of Corinth, a fourth-century BC choral hymn preserved in a stone inscription in Delphi, begins with a second-person invocation of Apollo, describes his powers, makes concise reference to important past events in his life, and closes with a prayer.[29] Despite their differences, both texts nevertheless, through the cumulative total of their structural elements and their focus upon divinity, set themselves apart as hymns.

This inclusive taxonomy of Greek hymns, which groups a wide variety of poetic compositions addressed to and focused upon the gods together under

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24 On Philicus (*SH* 676–680) see in this volume Bowie pp. 88–101 and on the Greek magical hymns Petrovic.

25 See Sbardella 2000 and Obbink 2001.

26 For example Pi. *P.* 5. 63–69, on which see Currie 2005: 227 with further bibliography.

27 The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* is in this respect unique, with its joint focus in the narrative upon both Aphrodite and the mortal Anchises—see recently Schein 2012—but nonetheless narrates an important episode in the life of the goddess which reflects upon the definition of her powers.

28 On the formal structures of hymns, see *inter alia* Bremer 1981, Janko 1981, Race 1982, Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 50–63, and Calame 2005: 19–22.

29 See Furley and Bremer 2001: no. 2. 4.

the single term "hymn," reflects ancient categorization. In its earliest uses, the Greek word *hūmnos* (ὕμνος) broadly denotes a song, without particular reference to a song in praise of the gods, but by the classical period the term had acquired this more particular meaning.[30] This is not to say of course that ancient categorization was monolithic, for hymns were also sub-divided according to their form and function, often associated with a particular god and cult origin. Plato and subsequent commentators distinguish between hymns (proper), paians, dithyrambs, and prosodia, to name but a few sub-classes. Nevertheless, it appears that the term *hūmnos*, even as it was at times differentiated from hymnic sub-categories, remained a universal word for song directed at or praising the gods.[31]

The critical importance of performance context for the determination of genre has received increased recognition in scholarship of recent years. Performance context is naturally a relevant factor also for the evaluation of hymnic genre and hymnic narratives, as it was in antiquity for Proclus' categorization of hymns, but once again a widely variable feature. To whom were hymnic narratives addressed, in what manner were they conveyed, and what were the underlying presuppositions of the audiences? In the great majority of cases, those works of Greek literature classified as hymns are metrical poetry, which in many instances would have been sung in the context of cult practice or religious celebration. Other hymns, as in the case of most lyric monody, would have been performed at symposia or in more private settings, but nonetheless possessed a religious function. Furley and Bremer suggest that the performer of a hymn "has typically removed himself from a secular environment to join with others in abandoning their normal manner of everyday discourse in order to address a god using all the resources of artistic embellishment available."[32] Such a formulation seems broadly applicable, whether or not a hymnodist is physically performing within a religious space or engaging in the rites of cult practice, in that the very fact of addressing a god marks a separation from secular discourse.

Movement between secular and non-secular discourse can operate on the written page or the theatrical stage as much as in the practice of religious rites, a distinction that is problematized all the more by the thin line in ancient Greek society (as in many other societies) between the secular and the religious. Amidst other factors, this belies the difficulty with which attempts to

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30 See Ford 2002: 11–12, Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 8–14. Plato plainly contrasts ὕμνοι to the gods and ἐγκώμια to mortals in *Republic* 10. 607a; cf. *Laws* 700b.

31 See Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 10–14 with further bibliography.

32 Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 2.

distinguish between so-called "literary" or "rhapsodic" hymns and "cult" hymns are fraught.[33] On the one hand, the *Homeric Hymns*, which are often said to be literary hymns, were very probably performed within the context of panhellenic religious festivals (as the description of the Delian fesitval in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* suggests),[34] even if they were not sung in cult ritual *per se*. On the other hand, there is a clear overlap between the formal features of choral lyric, which was particularly associated with cult practice, and hymns embedded in works that were performed in contexts other than religious ritual and worship. Imitation of cult-centred hymns within fifth-century Greek tragedy and comedy betray the weak foundation of sharp distinctions, even though a difference between cult-centered hymns and literary hymns was undoubtedly perceived in antiquity. Later authors play consciously with literary conventions and cult setting. In his hexameter hymn to Demeter, one of the so-called "mimetic" hymns, Callimachus begins and ends with the evocation of a cultic procession of fasting female celebrants taking part in the Thesmophoria, a ritual frame which encapsulates and is thematically linked to the mythic narrative of Erysichthon's transgression against Demeter, which engages with the narrative of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.[35] The ritual, whose details are recognizable but untethered to a particular cult location, is almost certainly an imaginary frame evoked in the context of literary recitation or reading.[36]

Within the scope of this volume, it is important to emphasize that hymnic narrative operates across this wide variety of formal features and performance contexts. Although narrative is affected by the *Sitz im Leben* of a particular work (the ritual frame in Callimachus' hymn to Demeter just discussed, although fictitious, suggests just how closely cult practice and hymnic narrative can be linked), one finds certain commonalities in hymnic narratives. A relative clause often marks a transition from the initial invocation/evocation of the god to praise of attributes and/or narrative celebration of an important event in the god's life,[37] which exemplifies characteristic attributes. Standard themes resonate across hymnic narratives: the birth of a deity, the foundation of principal

33 Cf. Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 42–43.

34 The *Homeric Hymns* could also have been performed in smaller, more private settings; see Clay 2011: 249–252.

35 On the links between the ritual frame and narrative of this hymn, and its intertextual relationship with earlier texts, see Faulkner 2012a, with earlier bibliography.

36 For the ritual, see Hopkinson 1984: 32–43.

37 On relative expansion, see *inter alia* Devlin 1994: 35, Richardson 1974: 135–136, and the classic treatment by Norden 1913: 168–176.

cult sites, the provision of significant knowledge or materials to mankind, the accomplishment of a great feat with cosmic significance, and epiphany are all typical.

The narratives of the long *Homeric Hymns* are closely linked to the techniques of other early hexameter poetry, particularly Homer and Hesiod, and as such provide relatively expansive accounts of important mythical events in the lives of Dionysus, Demeter, Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite. One finds similarly developed narratives in later hexameter hymns which imitate the *Homeric Hymns*, such as the hymns of Callimachus, but hymnic narratives are often compact and quite dense. In the case of the shorter *Homeric Hymns*, a brief narrative can describe a mythic first or habitual activity, such as Artemis' arrival on Olympus (*Hymn* 27), or the birth of Hermes (*Hymn* 18). Where there is the expectation of narrative, it is also possible to speak of a "reduction" of narrative ("compression," in narratological terms), whose details are evoked by the brief mention of a name or place but supplied by the mythological knowledge of the audience: so in the case of the three-line *Homeric Hymn* 13 to Demeter, the simple naming of Persephone in the second line as a second object of song, a naming which in the long *Homeric Hymn* to Demeter leads directly through relative expansion to an extended account of Persephone's abduction and Demeter's search for her daughter, hints at the narrative possibility.[38]

Hymnic narratives in choral lyric associated with cult performance often tend toward brevity and compression and seem to suppose foreknowledge of foundational events in a cult's history in order to fill out the narrative kernel. In Athenaios' paean and prosodion to Apollo, inscribed on stone in Delphi and dating to 138 or 128 BC, the chorus introduces through relative expansion its praise of Apollo with the attributive statement of his oracular function ("… who utters infallible oracles to all humans," 18) before providing a brief four-line narrative of the well known story of Apollo's slaying of the snake ("You seized the prophetic tripod from its evil guardian when you shot the twisting snakey shape with arrows until the beast, with gasp on hideous gasp, gave up the ghost," 19–22).[39]

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38 Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον σεμνὴν θεὸν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν | αὐτὴν καὶ κούρην περικαλλέα Περσεφόνειαν. See Calame 2011: 334–335, "The central descriptive and narrative section generally introduced by the so-called *hymnic relative*, which in the longer *Homeric Hymns* leads to narrative accounts of dozens of verses, is here reduced to just one line; overlapping with the *evocatio*, the *epica laus* introduced by καί mentions only the existence of Persephone as daughter of Demeter."

39 Furley and Bremer 2001: no. 2. 6. 18–22: … ὃ]ς πᾶσι θνατοῖς προφαίν[εις λόγια,] | [τρ]ίποδα μαντεῖον ὡς εἷ[λες, ἐχθρὸς ὃν ἐφρ]ού- | ρει δράκων, ὅτε τε[οῖσι βέλεσιν ἔτρ]ησας αἰ- | όλον ἑλικτὰν [φυάν, ἔσθ' ὁ θήρ, συχν]ὰ συ- | ρίγμαθ' ἱεὶς ἀθώπε[υτ', ἀπέπνευσ' ὁμῶς· …

Later composers of hymns, as the examples of Callimachus and Athenaios discussed above show, thus in their own ways experiment with and draw upon the narrative content and expectations of the hymnic tradition. The Orphic hymns, the hymns of Proclus, the hymns of Mesomedes—all concerned with philosophical or allegorical abstractions—, or the hymns preserved in the Greek magical papyri, are not at first sight obvious sources for reflection upon Greek hymnic narrative, at least in comparison with the Homeric or Callimachean hymns. And yet, in their manipulation of generic expectation and content, these hymns too contend with narratological issues.[40] Later hymnic tradition extends the reach of hymnic narrative even beyond the traditional confines of metrical poetry: the second-century AD orator Aelius Aristides, an important figure of the so-called Second Sophistic, addresses a number of rhetorical prose compositions to the gods,[41] a form of hymnic praise also taken up later by Julian and Libanius.[42] The sheer diversity of forms and contexts in which Greek hymns appear from the seventh century BC to the fifth century AD makes it impossible to define a set of adamantine principles according to which hymnic narratives operate. One must nevertheless remain aware that hymnic narratives, as much as they overlap with other traditional genres such as epic, tragedy, comedy, philosophy, or rhetoric, do not exist independently of a hymnic tradition.

Summary of Contributions

Because of the cumulative and comparative approach in the volume as a whole, the quite different narrative content and roles in the texts which it examines, as well as the different attitudes of its contributors, the character and methodologies of the individual chapters vary a great deal. It is hoped nonetheless that taken together the chapters will allow an overall picture of narrative to emerge. As far as methodology is concerned, the approach of the volume is one of synthesis: we as editors have not imposed an approved methodology on our contributors, nor an orthodoxy of narratological or other technical analytical terms which each had to follow. In order to assist readers coming to the volume from backgrounds in scholarship on different kinds of text, as well as to show the divergence of the two traditions of analysing narrative technique in use in

40 See in this volume the chapters of Morand, Brumbaugh, Devlin, Herrero de Jáuregui, and Petrovic.

41 See recently Goeken 2012 and in this volume Hodkinson.

42 See further Russell and Wilson 1981: 229.

scholarship on Greek hymns and on other classical and modern narratives, a conspectus of narrative terminology is provided at the outset of the book.

The volume is divided into four sections, which follow a roughly chronological progression: 1) two chapters on the Homeric Hymns, 2) three chapters on Hellenistic hymns, 3) four chapters on Imperial hymns, and 4) three chapters dedicated to the Orphic and so-called "Magical" hymns.

Nicholas Richardson begins with a synoptic view of the narrative sections of the longer *Homeric Hymns*. He treats formal features such as opening and closure, and narrative structure, but also recurrent themes (e.g. the birth of a god, epiphany), which dominate the narratives of the Homeric hymns. This sets the stage for subsequent chapters concerned with the formal characteristics of longer, more developed narratives in Greek hymns, which often look back to the Homeric hymns. Certainly Callimachus' hymns are frequently in dialogue with the narratives of the longer Homeric hymns, yet also differ significantly in narratological respects. *Susan Stephens*, who treats the hymns of Callimachus as a collection rather than individually and considers formal and thematic similarities within the group of poems, explores the influence of the Homeric hymns on Callimachus, but also the multitude of non-hymnic voices which permeate Callimachus' hymnic oeuvre and affect the narrative voice. She gives particular attention to Callimachus' so-called "mimetic" hymns, which place the hymnic narrative within a cultic frame and problematize a constant tension in hymnic narratives: the uncertainty of narrative voice and intended narratee(s), whether cultic audience, divinity, or addressees in other literary or cultural settings. *Athanassios Vergados* similarly focuses on the question of narrative voice in one of Callimachus' "mimetic" hymns, the *Bath of Pallas*. In reconsidering Callimachus' debt to Pherecydes and Hesiod (particularly the *Theogony*, *Catalogue*, and *Melampodia*) in this hymn, he argues that the ambiguity of the gender of the narrative voice at the outset of the poem is echoed in the implicit presence of the *Melampodia* narrative, in which Tiresias' blindness is connected to his having lived as both man and woman. In his examination of the narrative conventions in the heterogeneous corpus of the Hadrianic hymnodist Mesomedes, *Michael Brumbaugh* again gives particular attention to the relationship forged between hymnist and audience, which he considers a crucial feature of hymnic narrative. He suggests that a less strict approach to defining the hymnic genre, with respect to what and whom a hymn can address, is liberating and even necessary in order to appreciate fully the place of Mesomedes' hymns within the hymnic and broader poetic traditions. Mesomedes' poems on Helios and the Adriatic are read within a hymnic framework, so as to elucidate their relationship to both literary tradition and their historical context in the reign of Hadrian.

Questions of narrative voice and audience arise again in the case of a later hymn of the Imperial period. *William Furley* offers a detailed study of narrative in the hymn to Dionysus partially preserved in a papyrus in the National Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, which he recently studied *in situ* and edited.[43] The story of Lykurgos' punishment is told by an anonymous omniscient external narrator, who focalizes the narrative through the minds of a number of internal narratees, revealing their thoughts and emotions. Furley suggests that this use of different viewpoints is quasi-dramatic. The lack of a direct address to the god recalls the third-person narration of the *Homeric Hymns*, but the direct address to the inscribed audience is reminiscent of the "mimetic" hymns of Callimachus and suggests a link to cult. It is shown how the narrative sequence of the myth of Lykourgos may reflect stages in Dionysiac initiation ritual, similar to the myth of Erysichthon in Callimachus' sixth hymn to Demeter, reflecting the close connection between narrative and ritual experience. *Ewen Bowie*, in close readings of the lyric hymn to Demeter of Philicus and the epigraphically preserved (sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi) paean poems to Dionysus and Apollo by Philodamus and Limenius, explores how cultic experience and narrative are linked in other ways, as he considers the handling of spatial and temporal elements in all three hymns. Philicus' hymn focuses on three demes of Attica and it is suggested that the choice of Prospalta for the entry and speech of the old woman from Halimous may be connected to the hymn's function as an alternative *aition* for the *aischrologia* in Demeter cult. Philicus' focus on the old cults of Greece and less prominent cult sites situates him within the interests of contemporary Alexandrian poets. In contrast, in the poems of Philodamas and Limenius, which have a much broader geographical scope, the framework is one of appeal, prayer, and exhortation, in which the dominant voice is that of the singing chorus. One narratological feature which Bowie notes in Philicus' poem is the prominence of speeches, a relatively common feature of the Homeric hymns, which Philicus certainly knew, but not a frequent trait of narratives in lyric hymns. Bowie suggests that Philicus' use of speeches gives a dramatic quality to his narrative, which might be compared to what Furley describes as the quasi-dramatic secondary focalization in the Tbilisi Dionysus hymn. In both cases, focalization is linked to broader generic categories, just as the prominence of direct speech in the Homeric hymns is tied to the formal characteristics of epic hexameter poetry. Direct and indirect speech in the Homeric hymns themselves are reconsidered by *Andrew Faulkner*, who points out that, in contrast to Homeric epic, Zeus very seldom speaks directly in the

43 See Furley 2007.

Homeric hymns. This serves to distance the father of the gods, especially in light of the fact that the overall levels of direct speech in the Homeric hymns is often very similar to that in the Homeric epics.

Later hymns blend and adapt the narrative conventions found in early hymns, and at times test the limits of what can be defined as hymnic narrative. *Owen Hodkinson* investigates generic boundaries and categories in the so-called "prose hymns" of Aelius Aristides. He examines the hymns in narratological terms, detailing more precisely how Aristides draws upon both hymnic and rhetorical models in these hybrid compositions. Hymnic aspects are intermixed with typical features of epideictic praise orations. The analysis is pursued in structural terms, with focus on the role of the narrator. It is suggested that Aristides' marked variety in narrative technique is born in part of a desire for *variatio*, but also as a self-conscious experiment in how to combine distinct genres.

Certainly, not all hymns contain clearly defined narratives, but this is not to say that they are not in dialogue with narrative as a feature of hymns, whether implicitly or explicitly. *Nicola Devlin* considers the narrative practices in the seven surviving hexameter hymns of Proclus, placing them within the context of the preceding hymnic tradition. These hymns do not contain the type of extended narratives found in earlier hexameter hymns, but it is argued that narrative is nonetheless a vital element in Proclus' hymns. Recurring imagery, particularly that drawn from allegorical interpretation of mythological narratives, is shown to be central. Devlin examines the importance of prayer in Neoplatonic theology and its prominence in Proclus' hymns, suggesting that prayers and narrative are closely linked, in that patterns of images across the hymns provide a single implied, normative narrative, thus informing knowledge of god's nature, which is the first of the five ascending stages of Neoplatonic prayer. Two chapters explore the *Orphic Hymns*, which again lack the extended narratives found in other hexameter hymns. *Anne-France Morand* begins with a synoptic study of narrative technique in the *Orphic Hymns*, paying attention to the relation of the *Orphic Hymns* to each other, the thematic threads through the collection as a whole, and the audience of the poems. Within this larger framework, she offers a more detailed and representative study of the sixth *Orphic Hymn* to Protogonos. The *Orphic Hymns* do not contain large-scale narratives such as those found in the *Homeric Hymns*, but instead employ a characteristic build-up of laudatory epithets. Morand nonetheless explores how such amplification through strings of epithets in the *Orphic Hymns* is not at random, but leads the narratee in a particular direction. *Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui* then considers in detail the relationship between the narrator and multiple addressees in Orphic hymns, with Orphic hymns outside the Imperial collec-

tion of *Orphic Hymns*. In contrast to the use of a paradigmatic myth in the Homeric or Callimachean hymns, Orphic hymns attempt coverage of all dimensions of a god through the expansive use of epithets, names and clauses. Following from the proem, the collection as a whole covers all possibilities within the divine pantheon, which has been connected to ritual performance. What is constant in Orphic hymns is the religious authority that enabled Orpheus' voice to convey "the better prayer" to the initiates. Finally, *Ivana Petrovic* considers the metrical invocations of the gods found in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. In treating the formal features of the hymns in *PGM*, she argues that the poems function as ἀγάλματα or gifts for the gods and in this respect are similar to rhapsodic hymns, which intimate a special relationship between rhapsode and god. She places emphasis on this individual relationship between performer and god, rather than a relationship established between the larger community and god. In contrast to rhapsodic hexameter hymns, the narration in *PGM* hymns is reduced to essential information.

PART 1

The Homeric Hymns

CHAPTER 1

Constructing a Hymnic Narrative: Tradition and Innovation in the Longer *Homeric Hymns*

N. Richardson

Introduction*

It is easy to see the longer *Homeric Hymns* as miniature epic narratives. They tell stories about the gods in a language and style similar to that of the Homeric epics, and use comparable narrative techniques. Moreover, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain some episodes which can be compared quite closely to these hymns, such as the account of Hera's deception of Zeus in *Iliad* 14–15, and especially the song of Demodocus about Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8. Both of these have interesting points of contact with the longer *Hymn to Aphrodite*. Demodocus' song is actually a separate composition from the main narrative, a song within the song, and it has often been compared to a *Homeric Hymn*.

At the same time, however, the equation of hymns and heroic epic poetry can be misleading. As Robert Parker says in his excellent essay, "Though the *Hymns* often touch and overlap with the subject-matter of heroic epic, the two genres are always quick to diverge."[1] The *Hymns* are concerned to celebrate a god or gods—their natures, powers, exploits and cults. He gives as an example divine epiphanies, which are often described in both genres, "but with notably different emphasis. Where Homer is chiefly interested in the reaction of the affected mortals, for the *Hymn*-writers epiphany is a climactic revelation of divine power, which may lead to the foundation of a cult."

Parker also points out that the *Hymns* are distinctive in their manner of telling a story,[2] since "they treat everyday realism with a fine disregard," and

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1 Cf. Parker 1991: 2.

2 Cf. Parker 1991: 4.

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"they present divine myths, stories about the organization of power in the world, with all the freedom of fantasy that such serious subjects demand." This is not just a matter of such things as talking islands (Delos), or the paradox of a one-day old baby god (Hermes) using all the resources of the accomplished orator. It also affects the whole question of narrative logic, as Parker shows when discussing the *Hymn to Demeter*, where critics have raised questions about narrative coherence, because they mistake the nature of this genre. In the Homeric epics, for the most part, characters act in clearly motivated ways. This logic also implicates the gods, whose actions are described because they are involved in the drama of events on earth, rather than for their own sake, even if from time to time they claim to be above or unconcerned about mere mortal affairs. In *Iliad* 1.194–222, for example, we are told why Athene intervenes to persuade Achilles not to draw his sword against Agamemnon. Hera prompts her, because of her concern for the two heroes. She appears to Achilles and gives her advice, and he follows this. It is all quite clear and explicit. In the *Hymns*, however, the autonomy and arbitrary nature of divine power is more apparent. We are not told *why* Zeus allows Hades to carry off his daughter, *why* Demeter comes to Eleusis, and so on, because (as Parker says) "gods are gods, not men." Demeter does not have "to explain herself to Wilamowitz."

Another basic difference, which has struck many critics, lies in the way in which time is treated. The *Hymns* tell of some events which have happened at a particular time in the past, such as the birth of a god. But they also celebrate the deity as a permanent power in the world, and they move with relative ease between these two temporal modes, to such an extent that sometimes one is not sure where the boundary lies. A notorious example is the opening of the *Hymn to Apollo*, where the poet uses both present and past tenses to describe the archer god's dramatic appearance in the palace of Zeus.[3]

The brevity of these poems, by comparison with heroic epic, is also an important factor which affects the form of the narrative. Some episodes are described in a more leisurely way, but at other times the pace is rapid and compressed. Speeches are not always given in full, but sometimes summarised indirectly. These variations of pace can also be dramatically effective. The powerful compression of the *proem* to the *Hymn to Apollo* is counterbalanced by the more relaxed and cheerful style of the later scenes, describing music and song on Delos, and on Olympus, or the procession of the god and his ministers up to the site of his future oracle at Delphi. The elaborate and leisurely

3 Cf. Richardson 2010: 81–82.

introduction to the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is contrasted with the abruptness of the ending, where after Aphrodite's long speech to Anchises (101 verses) the narrative ends with a single line (291):

> ὣς εἰποῦσ' ἤϊξε πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἠνεμόεντα
> With these words she sped away to the windy heaven.

The *Hymns* themselves (both longer and shorter ones) possess a repertoire of common narrative motifs and techniques. But they also differ considerably amongst themselves in the way in which they make use of these, and this variety helps to give each poem its own freshness and interest. (In this respect one could compare them to the Epinician, another genre of praise poetry which shares with them some common features.) In this paper I shall consider the following aspects of the four longest hymns (nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5): opening and closure, narrative structure, and a brief selection of recurring themes.

Opening and Closure

Scholars have noted that in some of both the longer and shorter *Hymns* the poet moves directly into narrative mode after announcing the subject of the hymn, whereas others begin with an attributive section, describing the deity's character and activities.[4] Some of the shorter hymns (for example nos. 10 and 13) never actually switch from this attributive mode into narrative at all, whereas the long *Hymn to Demeter*, whose subject is significantly announced as both this goddess and her daughter, launches immediately in the second verse into the story of Persephone's rape by Hades, and the opening part of this carries us forward with rapid intensity. There is no attempt to define or describe the goddesses, apart from the epithets in the first two verses, but instead it is in the course of the narrative that we learn of Demeter's power over the fruits of the earth, and Persephone's role as a deity of the underworld is the outcome of the story itself.

The *Hymn to Apollo* opens with a separate prelude, clearly marked off from the ensuing narrative of the god's birth (1–18). Here a typical motif, the god's entry to Olympus and his reception among the gods, which usually occurs later in the story, is dramatically placed right at the opening of the poem. His welcome by his mother Leto, which relieves the tension of his awe-inspiring

4 Cf. Janko 1981: 9–24; Faulkner 2005: 60–79.

entry with bow drawn, enables the poet to pay tribute to her as mother of both Apollo and Artemis, and introduces the theme of his birth in a summary way (12–13 and 14–18). Rather than worrying over whether Apollo's entry is a habitual event or a historic one, we might well admire the unique and effective way in which this motif is used here.

The *Hymn to Hermes* resembles *Demeter* in that it moves in verse 3 *via* a relative clause directly into the story of Hermes' birth (3–16). In the shorter hymn to Hermes (no. 18) this occupies the main part of the poem, whereas here it acts as a prelude to the narrative of the god's exploits on the day of his birth, his invention of the lyre and theft of Apollo's cattle, which are announced in verses 17–19.

The longer *Hymn to Aphrodite* has the most complex opening. Aphrodite's power over living creatures is first stated, but is then qualified by an extensive description of three goddesses who are *not* subject to her influence, Athene, Artemis and Hestia (7–35). This is then contrasted with her power over Zeus (36–44), thus leading to the main theme of Zeus' retaliation when he causes her to fall in love with Anchises (45–53). The whole of this introduction may be classed as attributive, but (as with the opening of the Apollo hymn) it alternates between present and historic tenses, so that it also has narrative aspects.[5]

The endings of the narrative part of each hymn also vary considerably. As we saw, the Aphrodite hymn ends abruptly with the departure of the goddess, after her warning to Anchises not to reveal her secret, and *Apollo* similarly ends rather suddenly with the god's warning to his new ministers at Delphi against misconduct in future (540–544). *Demeter* however modulates more gently from past to present. Demeter's gift of her secret rites to Eleusis leads to a proclamation of the blessings these now bestow, and the ascent of the two goddesses to Olympus is followed by the description of their continuing presence there, and a further announcement of their blessings to those whom they favour (483–489). The final invocation is also unusually elaborate (490–494), listing three cult-sites of the goddesses, and asking for "a pleasant livelihood" in return for the poet's song. The end of the *Hymn to Hermes* also modulates from the final section of narrative, a description of Hermes' future powers (by Apollo) after their reconciliation, to a briefer announcement by the poet of his continuing roles as both a helper and a deceiver (567–568). It is interesting to note that the

5 It is worth noting that, as Owen Hodkinson points out, the distinction between "attributive" and "narrative" cannot always be equated with that between present and past tenses. Narrative may be in the present tense, in a passage about a god's habitual activities, and within narrative in past tenses there can be descriptive passages of a more attributive kind.

two hymns which have more extensive preludes are the ones with the more abrupt endings, whereas the ones which move into narrative sooner are those with attributive "postludes."

Narrative Structure

The composition of the *Hymn to Demeter* seems relatively clear and simple, falling into three main sections. In the first Persephone is carried off, and Demeter hears her cries and goes in search of her, until she learns the truth from Helios (1–89). In the central part (90–304) she visits Eleusis, where she eventually orders the people to build her a temple. In the final part, she creates a famine, which deprives the gods of sacrifices, and so brings about the return of her daughter, followed by the restoration of life to the fields and the gift of her secret rites to the Eleusinians (305–489). The first and third parts of this trilogy balance each other (rape and return), and the central section also anticipates the ending, with Demeter's promise to teach the people her rites announced at lines 273–274, and the theme of her failure to immortalise the infant Demophon, which is counterbalanced by the promise to her initiates of a better fate after death (256–267, 480–482, 486–490).

The *Hymn to Apollo* has often been regarded as a diptych, the first part describing Apollo's birth on Delos, the second his foundation of the oracle at Pytho (or Delphi).[6] It is unique among the *Homeric Hymns* in the way in which the first part is so clearly marked off by the section on the Delian festival, culminating in the poet's praise of the choir of Delian girls and reference to himself. It is worth pointing out that this form of self-reference is usually confined to the opening and closing verses of these *Hymns*, whereas in this one it is far more pervasive, and is combined with frequent address to the god (*apostrophe*).[7] A handful of the shorter *Hymns* (no. 8, the unusual and late one to Ares, nos. 21 to Apollo, 24 to Hestia, 29 to Hestia and Hermes, 30 to Earth) address the deity throughout, but none of the other longer ones do so. This direct engagement by the poet with the god goes with a greater prominence of attributive as opposed to historic passages, as in the opening scene (1–18; cf. also 19–24, 29–44), the elaborate description of the Delian festival (146–176),

6 This view originates with Ruhnken 1782. For various recent versions of this theory cf. West 1975: 61–70; Förstel 1979: 20–62; Burkert 1982: 189–197; Janko 1982: 99–132; Chappell 2011: 59–81.

7 Cf. Nünlist 2004: 35–42. For self-reference cf. 1, 19 = 207, 166, 171, 207, 208, 546, and for *apostrophe* 14 (to Leto), 19 = 207, 20–29, 120, 127–129, 140–149, 179–181, 207–209, 215–225, 229–230, 239–246, 277–282, 545–546 (together with 166–176, to the Deliades).

and also the extensive scene of music and dance on Olympus (182–206). It gives this *Hymn* a completely different quality from the rest, as in these others the historic narrative mode is maintained without a break.

As for the structure of the poem, I have argued elsewhere that a case can be made for seeing it as made up of three parts or movements, rather than a two-part composition.[8] Apollo's birth on Delos forms the first movement of the poem. His search for a place in which to build his temple and set up his oracle is the main theme of the central part. The building of the temple at Pytho actually falls not far from the poem's mid-point (285–299), followed by the closely related account of his killing of the serpent Python (300–374), and his punishment of the spring Telphousa (374–387). The third movement concerns the theme of Apollo's choice of his first ministers for the new sanctuary, the Cretan merchants whose ship he commandeers, and it culminates with their arrival at Pytho (388–544).

This tripartite form is articulated especially by the fact that each part is built around a journey: Leto's travels around the Aegean in search of a birth site (30–50), Apollo's journey from Olympus through northern Greece to Pytho (214–286), and the voyage of the Cretan ship guided by the god, from Cnossos round the Peloponnese and through the Gulf of Corinth to the harbour of Crisa, and thence to Pytho (388–523). Taken together these three journeys cover most of the Greek world, and also suggest the extent of Apollo's power and worship, a theme which is stressed frequently throughout the hymn (20–29, 56–60, 80–82, 140–145, 247–252, 287–293, 535–539; note especially 250–251, 290–291, where the Peloponnese, Europe, i.e. northern Greece, and the islands are actually listed).

The *Hymn to Hermes* has at first sight a looser construction. But the main narrative (20–512) is clearly built around the two themes of the lyre (Hermes' invention) and the theft and recovery of Apollo's cattle. The central story of the theft is framed by the two episodes describing the creation of the lyre, and Hermes' gift of it to Apollo, which seals their reconciliation (20–61, 397–512). Both of these episodes include songs by Hermes, one about his own birth, the other a more general theogony, whose style is also described in a similar way (54–61, 424–433, and for the style cf. 55–56, 453–454). Journeys are again a leading motif: Hermes' journey with the stolen cattle from Pieria to the river Alpheios, and thence to Mt. Cyllene, is mirrored by that of Apollo's search for the cattle and their thief (62–153, 184–234), and both include meetings with the old farmer at Onchestus, who witnessed Hermes' passage with the

8 Cf. Richardson 2010: 9–13.

cattle. Apollo's accusation and Hermes' defence are also motifs which recur, the second time in the more elaborate trial-scene on Olympus, where Zeus orders Hermes to return the cattle (252–292, 322–396). The poem ends with a lengthy dialogue between the two brothers concerning the gift of prophecy, which has often been regarded as a later addition (513–573). But the theme of prophecy is already present earlier on, at 466–474 and 489, and it is closely linked with that of music, especially in the common emphasis on the proper and improper use of these skills (483–488, 541–549, 560–566).

The *Hymn to Aphrodite* has a very simple structure, but also a very unusual one, as virtually all of the last third of the poem consists of the single speech of Aphrodite to Anchises (191–290). As we have seen, the prologue is also unusually long (1–52). Between these two parts, the main action takes up only 138 verses (53–190). The goddess falls in love with Anchises and visits him in disguise. After some dialogue comes the scene where they go to bed together, which stands at the centre of the poem (143–167), followed by her revelation of her true identity. Aphrodite's long final speech is concerned with the past and present history of Anchises' family, and especially with the birth of Aeneas and his future kingship over the Trojans. It is reasonable to think that the extent of her final speech is designed to celebrate the family of Anchises and Aeneas, and that this is one at least of the main motivations for this hymn.[9] The usual hymnic theme of the birth of a god is here replaced by that of the deity's heroic son, and Aphrodite's speech explicitly stresses just how close to divine status the members of Anchises' family are, as shown by the detailed stories of Ganymede and Tithonus (cf. especially 200–201). Her announcement of Aeneas' nurture by the nymphs of Mt. Ida (256–275), rather than by human nurses, also underlines his special status.

Some Recurrent Themes

Let us turn now to consider some of the recurrent themes which go to make up the repertoire of the hymnic poets, and how these are adapted to suit the various stories they wish to tell.[10]

Among the most important of these is the birth of the god who is being celebrated. Actually this is not so frequent as one might expect in the collection as a whole: ten of the 33 *Hymns* describe this (1, 3, 4, 15–19, 28, 31), and some

9 Cf. Faulkner 2008: 3–18. For a different approach cf. Olson 2012: 1–9.

10 Cf. also Richardson 2010: 4–9 and for earlier discussion Sowa 1984, Clay 2006.

of the others just refer to the deity's parentage.[11] In the shorter ones this description is usually quite simple, but in the case of Athene's birth from the head of Zeus in *Hy*. 28, this is such an extraordinary event that the whole narrative section (4–16) is dedicated to the birth and its cosmic effects. In the longer *Hymn to Hermes* (4) the birth-story forms a prologue to the main narrative (3–16), and (as mentioned above) this can also be treated as the main subject of a separate hymn, as in the case of the shorter *Hymn to Hermes* (18). By contrast, in the *Hymn to Apollo* (3), the theme is expanded to a complex narrative of 114 lines (25–139), preceded by a 5-line passage celebrating Leto as mother of both Apollo and Artemis (14–18). We do not know how the first *Hymn to Dionysus* was constructed as most of this has not survived, but a fragment of the poem contains a remarkable review of various traditions about Dionysus' birthplace, culminating in the statement that these are all lies, since the god was born at Nysa in Phoenicia.[12]

In two other *Hymns*, the longer one to Aphrodite (5) and the short *Hymn to Selene* (32), a birth is described, but it is the goddess who is being celebrated who bears a child (Aeneas in 5, Pandeia in 32). In *Hymn* 6 to Aphrodite, it is the direct aftermath of the deity's birth which is the subject: the west wind carries her over the sea in gentle foam (ἀφρῷ) to Cyprus (*Hy*. 6.5), where she is dressed and adorned by the Seasons (*Horai*), and then introduced by them to the company of the gods.[13]

The birth often involves concealment, or hostility, as in the case of Apollo and Hermes, and also of Aeneas' birth. The hostility of Hera to Leto underlies the reluctance of many places around the Aegean to become Apollo's birthplace, and it motivates the need to summon Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth, without Hera's knowledge (*Apoll*. 30–50, 92–106). Secrecy is a major theme of the longer *Hymn to Hermes*, as suits this god of trickery and theft. The affair of Zeus and Maia and Hermes' birth are both concealed (*Herm*. 5–9, 18.5–9). Another recurrent motif is the response of nature to the divine birth, as with Athene (*Hy*. 28.9–16). In the case of Apollo, the whole island of Delos rejoices, and is covered in golden flowers after his birth (*Apoll*. 135–139).

After birth comes the divine nursing or upbringing of the god. Apollo is washed and wrapped in swaddling clothes by the goddesses who assist Leto, and given nectar and ambrosia by Themis. Immediately he breaks out of the

11 Cf. also Furley 2011: 206–231, especially 218–219. He shows how the *Homeric Hymns* differ from other early hexameter hymns, in which the theme of theogony was usually central, whereas in the *Homeric Hymns* it is often a springboard for other narrative themes.

12 Cf. *Hy*. 1.1–9 Allen, and West 2003: 27–28, fr.A; West 2011: 29–43.

13 On this hymn cf. Furley 2011: 218–219.

bonds of his clothing and proclaims himself as god of the *kitharis*, the bow, and prophecy (*Apoll.* 120–132). The nursing of Dionysus by the nymphs is a major theme of the short hymn to this god (26.3–6), followed by his roaming through the wooded glades with them as companions. Likewise, Pan roams the countryside with nymphs, who sing of his birth (*Hy.* 19.8–47). The theme is displaced to the heroic level with Aeneas, whose upbringing by nymphs on Mt. Ida is foretold in detail by Aphrodite, with an elaborate excursus on the nature of the nymphs (*Aphr.* 256–273). A similar displacement occurs with Demeter's nursing of Demophon, the baby prince of Eleusis (*Dem.* 219–267). In this case, the theme forms a major episode in the narrative, as she attempts to immortalise him. In the case of Hermes, typically, the god upstages his brother Apollo, in that immediately after birth he begins to perform his exploits, without the need of special nurture (*Herm.* 20–23). A further comic twist is provided in the account of Hermes' son Pan's birth in *Hymn* 19, since this god's appearance is so extraordinary that his nurse (or mother perhaps) is frightened and immediately leaves the child (*Hy.* 19.35–39).[14]

Another major theme which is treated with great variety is the entry of the deity to Olympus, or his introduction to the company of the Olympian gods. Among the shorter hymns, Aphrodite is led by the *Horai* to the immortals after they have adorned her. All welcome her, and the male gods pray to take her as their wife (*Hy.* 6.14–18). Pan is carried by his father Hermes to the gods' home, wrapped in hare skins. Then Hermes sits down by Zeus and displays his son, and all the gods are delighted, especially Dionysus, and they name him Pan because he delighted them all (*Hy.* 19.40–47).[15] For Heracles, who began as a mortal, life on Olympus and marriage to Hebe come at the end of his labours as a reward (*Hy.* 15.4–7).

The longer *Hymns* develop this theme in more complex ways. Demeter deserts Olympus after her daughter's loss, and takes up residence at Eleusis. After the return of Persephone, both goddesses go up to Olympus and live there (*Dem.* 483–486), but Persephone must still spend part of the year with Hades (393–403, 445–447, 463–465). Hermes' first introduction to Olympus is completely untypical, since he and Apollo go there to put their case before Zeus (*Herm.* 312–396), but after the return of Apollo's cattle they both go back again to Olympus and are welcomed there by Zeus (504–507). The *Hymn to Apollo* develops the theme in a very original way, both at the opening (as seen above), with the god's dramatic entry to Olympus with bow drawn (1–13), and again

14 Cf. Thomas 2011: 151–172, especially 162, 167.

15 Cf. Thomas 2011: 161–162.

later, when it forms a prelude to the account of the founding of the temple at Delphi. Here Apollo is portrayed as god of music, going up to Olympus from Pytho and leading the gods in music and dancing (182–206).[16]

Finally, in the longer *Hymn to Aphrodite*, this theme is avoided altogether, because of Aphrodite's shame at her liaison with Anchises. As we have seen her departure from him is described in a single line, as she flies away "to the windy heaven" (*Aphr*. 291). Here, the lack of reference to Olympus is surely deliberate.

So far we have considered themes mainly on the divine level. But the interaction of the gods with mortals is an important aspect of many of the hymns. The *Hymn to Hermes* is unusual as in so many other ways among the longer ones, in that only one mortal character appears in the narrative, the anonymous old farmer of Onchestus, who plays a significant role as the witness of Hermes' cattle-theft (*Herm*. 87–94, 185–212, 354–355). Another untypical feature here is that there is no reference to either Hermes or Apollo concealing their divinity by disguise when they meet this character: the scenes are played out as if they were dialogues between two mortals.[17]

In the case of both Demeter and Apollo, by contrast, the appearance of the deities to mortals in disguise, their subsequent epiphany, and the response of mortals to this, form major ingredients of the story. Demeter comes to Eleusis in disguise as an old woman, and Apollo appears to the Cretan sailors successively in three forms, as a dolphin, like a star in broad daylight, and as a young man (*Apoll*. 400–403, 440–442, 448–450). Demeter's divinity is momentarily revealed on her entry to the palace of king Celeus at Eleusis, and this introduces a scene which foreshadows some of the preliminary rituals of the Mysteries (*Dem*. 187–211). Her fuller self-revelation later is followed by the command to build her temple at Eleusis (251–300), and at the end of the narrative she reveals her secret rites to the princes of Eleusis (473–482). There is thus a progressive process of revelation here.

In the *Hymn to Apollo* the god's birth, his first epiphany, is followed by the description of his festival on Delos (146–176), and his self-revelation towards the end leads to the institution of his worship as Apollo Delphinios, the first procession up to the site of Delphi, and the god's instructions to his first ministers (474–544).

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16 In *H*. 27, to Artemis, there may be an echo of this motif of reception in the description of how Artemis visits her brother Apollo at Delphi, and leads the Muses and Charites in dancing and song in praise of their mother Leto and the birth of Apollo and herself (11–20). Cf. also *Hy*. 19. 19–47.

17 The role of epiphanic motifs in this hymn is discussed by Vergados 2011: 82–104.

In the case of Hermes, cult does not play so prominent a part. But after Hermes' theft he kills two of the cattle, and there is an elaborate description of how these are roasted and the meat set out in twelve portions, which seems to be an *aition* for a cult of the Twelve Gods, as at Olympia (*Herm.* 105–142).[18]

A particularly interesting example of the way in which traditional themes can be re-used in a new way comes in the longer *Hymn to Aphrodite*. The goddess appears to Anchises disguised as a young girl, and his immediate reaction to her beauty is to assume that she must be divine, promise her a cult, and pray for her favour (*Aphr.* 81–106). She however denies her divinity, and the full revelation of this occurs only after their union (107–142, 168–190). This leads to the prophecy of Aeneas' birth, and there is no further mention of her cult, especially as she wants their affair to remain a secret (281–290). But the usual tendency in the Hymns to link together epiphany and cult is surely playing a part here, influencing the poet's introduction of the theme of cult at an earlier stage in the story, when she and Anchises first meet.

These are some of the more prominent themes which the poets of these hymns develop in such a variety of ways. They are traditional also in the sense that they all are found elsewhere in the wider corpus of Homeric and also Hesiodic poetry. One could consider others in a similar way, such as that of music and song, or the use of journeys, or the more general theme of conflict and resolution. But this brief survey may help one to appreciate the creativity and freedom of these poets in relation to their traditions.

Conclusion

Jenny Clay, in her valuable and influential book on the longer *Homeric Hymns*, argued that they should be viewed as "critical chapters in the early history of the Olympian family," filling a gap between the theogonic poetry of Hesiod and the Homeric epics, and providing "the clearest account of … the politics of Olympus."[19] This is an attractive way of reading these poems. But at the same time we should bear in mind that each hymn is also designed as an offering dedicated to and in praise of the god or gods concerned, and as an individual creation in its own right, constructed from a variety of traditional elements and themes, and not simply a piece of theological discourse, or a

18 Cf. Richardson 2010: 175–176 (on verses 128–129); Nobili 2011: 94–106; Vergados 2012; Thomas 2015.

19 Clay 2006: 15.

section from the larger continuum of early Greek poetic tradition. Like the god who is being celebrated, we as the audience should take pleasure in observing the skill with which the hymnic poets constantly fashion original and fresh works of art (*agalmata*) from the diverse materials at their disposal, and the complex variety (*poikilia*) with which they give dramatic shape and life to their narrative patterns.[20]

20 Cf. also Furley 2011: 209; Calame 2011: 334–357.

CHAPTER 2

The Silence of Zeus: Speech in the *Homeric Hymns*

A. Faulkner

Direct speech in the Homeric epics has been a topic of debate since antiquity. The mimetic quality of this mode of presentation was much discussed by Plato and Aristotle. The former argued that direct speech in Homer is fraught with moral danger. The latter conversely praised Homer for his use of direct speech, singling him out from other poets for his understanding that a poet should himself say as little as possible.[1] Modern scholarship, on the other hand, has devoted a great deal of attention to the formal qualities of direct speech in Homer and has recognized differences in vocabulary and style between the direct speech of characters and Homeric narrator text.[2] Such interest as there has been is certainly not undue, for direct speech constitutes a substantial portion of the Homeric poems: 45 % of the *Iliad* (7018 of 15,690 verses) and 67 % of the *Odyssey* (8225 of 12,103; including Odysseus' direct speech in books 9–12) are in direct speech.[3]

These Homeric levels contrast starkly with the practice of Hesiod. In the *Theogony*, there are only four circumscribed instances of direct speech: the address of the Muses in the proem (26–28), the exchange between Gaia and Kronos (164–166, 170–172), the dialogue of Zeus and Prometheus (543–544,

1 See Pl. *R.* 392c–398b and Arist. *Po.* 1448a, 1460a. It is debated whether Aristotle distinguishes between direct speech as mimetic and narrative as unmimetic at 1460a with the statements αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής. For the more common view that he does, despite the inclusion of narrative under a less restrictive sense of mimesis at 1448a, see Halliwell 1998: 126–127; 2002: 167–171. Others suggest that Aristotle refers not to direct speech but to the poet seldom speaking personally or in the first person; see most recently De Jong 2005 with an excellent survey of previous bibliography. The former position seems preferable: Halliwell demonstrates the complexity of Aristotle's understanding of mimesis and one should not expect uniformity of terminology in his discussion of the subject (cf. Hunter 1993: 139 n. 137). Proponents of the latter view also suggest that Homer's use of direct speech was not necessarily greater than that of other epic poets; but the fragmentary remains of the *Cycle* cannot confirm this and there is a clear distinction between Homer and Hesiod (and presumably Empedocles) in this respect; see below.

2 For a survey of literature on direct speech from 1850–1970, see Latacz 1975. Among other more recent works, cf. Griffin 1986; De Jong 1987a: 149–194.

3 Figures from Griffin 1986: 36–37, *apud* Schmid-Stählin.

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548–549, 559–560), and Zeus' discourse with the Hundred-Handers (644–653, 655–663), altogether no more than 4% of the entire poem (34 of approximately 900–1020).[4] The proportion is even lower in the *Works and Days*: Zeus' rebuke of Prometheus (54–58), the hawk's address of the nightingale (207–211), and the imagined command to workers (503) make up less than 2% of the poem (11 of 828 lines). Apart from the overall proportions, the speeches in Hesiod are also brief and to the point (1–3 lines), whereas short speeches are rare in Homer.[5] The difference of subject matter in Hesiod can partially explain such marked disparity, but the quantities of direct speech in Homer may also have exceeded those of much other early hexameter poetry. The few surviving fragments of the *Epic Cycle* do not allow for certain conclusions, but it has been noticed by Griffin that the style of the *Thebaid* seems to avoid direct speech where Homer would have employed it.[6] The fragments of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and *Megalai Ehoiai* (assuming the latter a separate poem) suggest infrequent use of direct speech;[7] and the *Aspis*, dominated by the long description of Heracles' shield, is composed of less than 18% direct speech (73 of 480; or, not including the 54 lines at the beginning of the poem that overlap with the *Catalogue* fr. 195 M.-W., 73 of 426).

The longer *Homeric Hymns*, on the other hand, have overall proportions of direct speech more similar to those found in the Homeric epics: *Demeter* contains 39% direct speech (192 of 495), *Apollo* 32% (175 of 546), *Hermes* 48% (277 of 580), and *Aphrodite* 57% (168 of 293).[8] Despite, however, this greater statistical parity with respect to direct speech, the qualitative treatment of speech in the *Homeric Hymns* is often different to that found in the Homeric epics. In what follows, I examine the formal treatment of speech in each of the longer *Homeric Hymns*. Attention is given to the structures of direct speech, to what extent they adhere to or depart from the patterns of direct speech known in

4 On the disputed ending of Hesiod (lines 901–1020) see West 1966: 397–399; Northrup 1983; and (arguing for the authenticity of the ending) Dräger 1997: 1–26.

5 Cf. West 1966: 74.

6 Griffin 1977: 49–50. De Jong 2005: 619 notes instances of direct speech in the surviving cyclic fragments, but these cannot confirm that the mode was widely used in the poems.

7 On the paucity of direct speech in the *Catalogue* see Rutherford 2000: 87–89; Hunter 2004: 251–252. On the *Megalai Ehoiai* frr. 248–249, part of a speech of Alcmene, see D'Alessio 2004: 188–189.

8 Figures for the *Homeric Hymns* have been compiled by me. Beck 2001: 56 also gives figures for the *Hymns*, but hers differ slightly from mine: *Dem.* (191), *Apoll.* (171), *Herm.* (276), *Aphr.* (169). My numbers exclude any supposed lacunae. In the case of *Herm.* the partial line of direct speech 526 is counted.

Homer and Hesiod, as well as the effect to which speech is employed, or not, in individual instances. Space does not allow for a comprehensive treatment of every instance of speech in the *Hymns*, including the nuances of characterization conveyed by individual speeches, but I hope that this survey will serve as a useful starting point for thinking about speech across the corpus of *Homeric Hymns*. Beyond examining the use of speech in individual poems, I hope also to demonstrate that the handling of speech in the *Hymns* is relatively consistent in one important respect: the way in which it colours the representation of Zeus in the *Hymns*.

Apart from the four longer *Hymns* mentioned above, the possible fragments of the first *Hymn to Dionysus*, which very probably had a length of over 400 lines, also contain instances of direct speech. One can perhaps assume that the overall proportions in this poem were similar to those in the other *Hymns*, but little can be said with certainty on statistics given the poem's fragmentary nature.[9] The seventh *Hymn to Dionysus* also contains direct speech, with a proportion of 29 % (17 of 59). Otherwise, however, direct speech is not employed in the collection. The absence of direct speech is natural in the shortest attributive hymns, although one might have expected direct speech also in the nineteenth *Hymn to Pan*, a poem of 49 lines; despite the extended account of Pan's birth in the poem, the descriptive narrative mode is preferred throughout. This may be explained in part by the supposed late date of the *Hymn to Pan*.[10]

Hymn to Demeter

Of the longer *Hymns*, the *Hymn to Demeter* has received the most scholarly attention with respect to speech. Nicholas Richardson points out in his commentary on the poem several features of speech that contrast with Homeric usage and might suggest Hesiodic influence:[11] first, a number of the speeches in the hymn are short, consisting of five or fewer lines (54–58, 113–117, 248–249, 321–323); as noted above, short speeches are rare in Homer, but a Hesiodic feature. Second, the poet avoids the use of direct speech on four occasions when Zeus sends messengers: Iris and then other gods are sent by Zeus in order to turn Demeter from her anger (314 ff., 325 ff.), Hermes is dispatched

9 On the possible original length see West 2001: 1. See below n. 43 on the attribution of the fragments.

10 The hymn is very probably a product of the fifth century. For a review of the evidence, see Faulkner 2011b: 15.

11 Richardson 1974: 41, 261–262.

to fetch Persephone from Hades (334 ff.), and Rhea is ordered to bring Demeter to the gods (441 ff.). More than once in Homer direct speech is avoided altogether when a messenger is dispatched, such that the feature might not necessarily be thought un-Homeric,[12] but it is nonetheless striking that direct speech is shunned on all four occasions in the *Hymn*. At least, the absence of direct speech when a messenger is sent out is still a relatively rare occurrence in Homer, whereas an indirect speech or command of Zeus features twice in Hesiod: at *Th.* 392 ff. Zeus tells the gods that whoever should fight with him against the Titans will retain his same honours under his regime, while at *Op.* 60 ff. Zeus commands the creation of Pandora. Finally, on two occasions in the *Hymn* (316, 448) the speech formula ὣς ἔφατο is used after indirect instead of direct speech, a practice which in Homer occurs only inside another speech; but in the *Works and Days* (69 ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι) it follows Zeus' command to create Pandora mentioned above. To these instances of possible Hesiodic influence, one can add the affirmative reaction of Hermes to Zeus' request to fetch Persephone at *Dem.* 340 Ἑρμῆς δ' οὐκ ἀπίθησεν and the reaction of the people to Celeus' commands in indirect speech at 299 οἱ δὲ μάλ' αἶψ' ἐπίθοντο καὶ ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος. Beck notes that these formulae only follow direct speech in Homer.[13] A parallel, however, for the verb πείθω after indirect speech is again found in the Pandora passage in the *Works and Days*.

Now, one effect of this repeated representation of Zeus' messages in indirect speech in *Demeter* is to make Zeus seem a more distant god than in the Homeric epics. Richardson notes this, and the point has been expanded upon by Deborah Beck, who argues that "direct speech and its expressive power are consistently used to highlight the emotions and narrative importance of the mother-child relationship between Demeter and Persephone," while indirect speech is used "where expressive force is *not* desired, as in scenes where the mother-child bond is not centrally important, or where the distancing effect particular to indirect speech *is* desired."[14] Demeter's role as a mother is without doubt a central motif in the poem and Beck's argument has some force. The lengthiest exchanges of speech in the poem are between Demeter and Persephone when reunited at the end of the poem and between Demeter in disguise as an elderly maternal figure and her surrogate mortal family. In the former case, Demeter and Persephone exchange 40 lines of direct speech (393–404 and

12 See De Jong 1987a: 181, *contra* Richardson 1974: 261.

13 Beck 2001: 67, 70–71; she also notes Zeus' response to Demeter's reported speech at 334 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.

14 Richardson 1974: 262; Beck 2001: 73; see also Clay 1989: 248.

406–433), a feature of the reunion which contrasts with the indirect representation of Persephone's indistinct cries during her abduction at the beginning of the poem; there, Demeter hears her child's shouts, but her father Zeus is said to be far away (27), an early announcement of the distance he will maintain throughout the poem.[15] In the case of her exchange with Celeus' family at Eleusis, Demeter exchanges 89 lines of speech with Metaneira and her daughters. Here too we experience vividly in direct speech Demeter's passionate desire to regain a maternal connection. She voices her wish that the daughters of Celeus might find a husband (135–137), reminding one of Persephone's sacred marriage to Hades, and Persephone's abduction is also recalled by Demeter's lie that she herself was abducted by pirates. Demophoon himself is a substitute for Persephone, while Demeter's fear of losing a child is paralleled by Metaneira's shout of dread in direct speech when she spies Demeter holding Demophoon over fire (248–249).[16]

In support of this argument that direct speech privileges the mother-daughter relationship, and to place it in context, I think it is also worth noting the marked preference for direct speech by females in the *Hymn to Demeter*, a feature which accords with the wider emphasis on female experience in the poem that has been noted by others.[17] On only three occasions is male speech in fact represented directly in the hymn: Helios to Demeter (75–87) when he informs her of the whereabouts of her daughter, Hermes to Hades (347–356) delivering the message of Zeus, and Hades to Persephone (360–369) before she departs to rejoin her mother. In the first two of these cases, the males act only to deliver information: the speech of Helios, preceded by Demeter's emotional appeal to him in direct speech (64–73),[18] pities Demeter and gives the goddess the first clear account of the dealings of the male world; not only does Zeus not hear Persephone's cries, but he is himself responsible for her abduction. Hermes' speech to Hades on the other hand underlines the necessity of Zeus' capitulation to Demeter and describes in detail Demeter's anger. Apart from keeping Zeus at a distance, these speeches also follow a pattern of avoiding direct confrontation between males and females in the poem. Helios assists Demeter and, if Hermes' message is at all unpalatable, it is delivered to Hades.

Similarly, in lines 314–333, there is no direct confrontation between male and female portrayed in direct speech. When Zeus tries to dissuade Demeter

15 See Beck 2001: 57–60.

16 See Beck 2001: 62–68. On the parallel between Demeter's loss of Persephone and her attachment to Demophoon see Felson and Deal 1980; Clay 1989: 222–245.

17 See Foley 1994: 103–142.

18 See Beck 2001: 60 on the expressive nature of Demeter's appeal in direct speech.

from her anger, he first sends the female Iris as his messenger. She addresses Demeter in three lines of direct speech (321–323). When the goddess is not persuaded by Iris, Zeus then sends other gods and goddesses—their sex is not specified (μάκαρας θεοὺς αἰὲν ἐόντας | πάντας ἐπιπροΐαλλεν) and the group could well have included male gods—but their speech is represented indirectly. Demeter's anger and her firm refusal to comply with Zeus' demand until she sees her daughter are also represented indirectly (329–333). This is not altogether surprising given Homeric practice: Elizabeth Minchin has observed that Homeric female characters issue very few rebukes (understood to include a negative comment and a proposal for action to alter the situation) in comparison to male characters and that goddesses angry with Zeus, such as Hera and Athena, instead protest against Zeus, voicing their disagreement with him but nonetheless stopping short of suggesting that Zeus change his behaviour.[19] The complete absence of not only face-to-face communication between Zeus and Demeter, but also direct representation of their confrontational speech, similarly avoids a candid altercation, even as the state of their enmity is underlined by the fact that they are no longer speaking.

The lack of conflict in direct speech between sexes is evident in the *Hymn* also when Demeter visits Eleusis disguised as an old woman. On this occasion Demeter does issue harsh words and give commands to her mortal hosts in direct speech, but these do not cross the divide of gender. After Metaneira interrupts Demeter in the process of immortalizing Demophoon, Demeter rebukes her angrily in direct speech (256–274) and instructs that the Eleusinians should build a temple to worship her. Metaneira and her daughters propitiate the goddess for an entire night,[20] then in the morning relate Demeter's words to Celeus. But this latter exchange is presented in indirect speech (293–295), as are Celeus' commands to the people to undertake Demeter's orders (296–298). The movement from the intimate setting in the palace to the public scene of community action is one from the female to the male realm,[21] and, as Beck notes,[22] the switch to indirect speech at this point serves to highlight the female exchanges in the palace and diminish the importance placed upon the male members of Eleusis; other versions of the myth had not Metaneira but the father of Demophoon come upon Demeter.[23] As well, however, the choice of indirect

19 Minchin 2007: esp. 155–158.

20 On the women's vigil possibly reflecting the ritual παννυχίς, see Richardson 1974: 256.

21 See Clay 1989: 245.

22 Beck 2001: 63–68.

23 See Clay 1989: 245 n. 131.

speech at this point in the poem again avoids vivid representation of communication between characters of different sex. William Furley suggests to me that the general lack of direct speech between the sexes in the *Hymn to Demeter* might remind one of the separation of men and women in the Thesmophoria,[24] although the influence of early Demeter cult upon the emphatic female experience in the poem can only remain conjecture.[25]

In fact, the only speech of a principal male protagonist made to a female to be represented in direct speech is that of Hades to Persephone (360–390), just before she is allowed to return to see her mother. And it is notable that the tone of this speech, as has been observed by others, is not confrontational but conciliatory, following the same pattern of *consolatio* as Helios' earlier address to Demeter (82–87).[26] In the case of Helios' speech, he suggests to Demeter that she turn away from her anger, but his advice is not heeded by the goddess. In the speech of Hades to Persephone on the other hand, he proposes compromise between their marriage and Persephone's desire to return to her mother. His speech emphasizes the new state of affairs brought about by the abduction and Persephone rejoices (γήθησεν δὲ περίφρων Περσεφόνεια 370). This perhaps entails some qualification of Foley's claim that "the *Hymn* continues to stress the female resistance throughout" and Beck's comment that "Persephone chooses to return to her mother in spite of these blandishments, and so the mother-daughter bond wins out over the marriage bond between husband and wife."[27] Persephone's joyful response is certainly due in part to the fact that she will be allowed to return to her mother, and Hades gives Persephone the pomegranate seed in secret in order to prevent her from spending all of her time with her mother (371–374). But the source of her joy is at least ambiguous; Hades' mention of future honours in his speech implies that Persephone will return to him, a fact which should also be taken into account in her response.[28]

24 In private correspondence on 26 March, 2012.

25 See Foley 1994: 103–104.

26 Richardson 1974: 268–269, who comments, following Deichgräber, that this is not what one would expect of the normally unsmiling Hades in archaic Greek religion.

27 Foley 1994: 109; Beck 2001: 71.

28 Cf. Clay 1989: 253: "With childish delight, Persephone jumps for joy, surely at the prospect of seeing her mother again, but perhaps also on account of the grand privileges just offered her. Or is it purely accidental that only here, both before and after Hades' speech, Persephone is called "circumspect" and "intelligent."" In her later account of the events to Demeter, Persephone does speak of compulsion (ἄκουσαν δὲ βίῃ με προσηνάγκασσε πάσασθαι 413), but Richardson 1974: 287 suspects the authenticity of the line and further wonders whether she "protests too much."

Yet, the very fact that the mother-daughter bond finds compromise with the newly introduced bond of marriage nonetheless brings a characteristically female perspective to the poem's conclusion. Persephone does not herself respond in direct speech, but the conciliatory words of Hades, as a rare instance of speech between male and female characters in the poem, underline the theme of reconciliation on a number of levels: reconciliation of Zeus' plans with the desires of Demeter, generational reconciliation as Persephone comes of age, and the reconciliation of male and female which will mark the return of fertility to the earth. In its spirit of co-operation, compromise, and the establishment of effective interaction, the speech of Hades to Persephone aligns itself with characteristics of female speech.[29] As for Zeus, he admittedly remains aloof and never condescends to speak directly to Demeter—at the end of the poem he sends his mother Rhea to recall Demeter back up to heaven after her reunion with Persephone (460–469)—but their eventual reconciliation is essentially achieved in the compromise offered in Hades' speech.

Hymn to Apollo

If the sense of distance created by the lack of direct speech by Zeus in the *Hymn to Demeter* is striking, it should be kept in mind that Zeus' speech is very seldom represented directly in the collection of *Homeric Hymns* as a whole. Zeus does not appear as a speaking character in either the Delian or the Pythian sections of the *Hymn to Apollo*,[30] does not speak in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, and utters only three lines of direct speech in the *Hymn to Hermes*.

The narrative of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* focuses upon Apollo's birth and the foundation of his cult sites, but Zeus is nonetheless an important character in the background of the narrative. He welcomes Apollo amongst the Olympian fold (1–18 and 204–206), while his son establishes the Delphic oracle as the mouthpiece of Zeus amongst humans (132). Apollo's relationship to Zeus is also underlined by Apollo in his speech to the Cretans (480). In a famous digression mid-way through the poem, the characteristically jealous Hera expresses her displeasure at her adulterous husband's activities and threatens to undermine him (300–354). Hera's anger is directed not only at Leto and Apollo as a result of Zeus' extramarital affair, but also at Zeus himself for giving birth to

29 See Minchin 2007: 145–146 on these qualities of women's speech.

30 On the controversial unity of the *Hymn to Apollo*, see Clay 1989: 18–19 and Chappell 2011, both with surveys of the bibliography.

the illustrious Athena without Hera, whereas Hera's own parthenogenetic child Hephaestus is lame and an embarrassment to the goddess: this is her underlying motivation for producing Typhaon, a threat to Apollo but also to Zeus and parallel to the Hesiodic Typhoeus.[31] During this episode, Hera voices her complaints about her husband in direct speech: first publicly to the gods (311–321), and then directly to Zeus himself, to whom she makes a threat of future harm and announces that she will alone give birth to an illustrious son (321–330). Hera then removes herself from the company of the gods and prays, again in direct speech, to Earth, Heaven, and the Titans to grant her a son more powerful than Zeus (334–339).

A response by Zeus to Hera's forceful complaints, threats, and actions seems called for here, but neither Zeus nor the other gods make any response at all, in either word or action.[32] The Hera episode has frequently been supposed a later addition to an earlier version of the *Hymn*,[33] which could explain the notable absence of Zeus' voice. Even later insertion of the episode, however, should not suppose careless tailoring, and the silence of the father of the gods at this point in the poem is consistent with his portrayal elsewhere in the *Hymn*. Zeus also remains silent in his role as Apollo's father. When the Delian section of the poem opens (1–18), Zeus, along with the other gods, awaits Apollo's arrival on Olympus, but there is no direct speech exchanged between the two. Similarly, at the beginning of the Pythian section (179–206), Apollo rouses the gods to music and song, while Zeus and Leto sit in delighted silence at the sight of their son (204–206).

The Delian section of the *Hymn* contains six instances of direct speech: Leto's address to Delos (51–60), the island's reply (62–82), Leto's oath (84–88), Apollo's short request for honours upon his birth (131–132), and the τις-speech of the passerby at the Delian festival (169–170) together with the response of the chorus of Delian maidens (172–173) imagined by the narrator.[34] Of these, the only substantial speeches are those of Leto and Delos, whose exchange represents a harmonious example of female compromise: Leto beseeches Delos to accept Apollo, Delos rejoices but voices some concern that Apollo will eventually take his temple elsewhere, and at Delos' request Leto swears an oath by Earth, Heaven and the Styx that her son's temple will remain upon the island.

31 See Clay 1989: 63–74; Felson 2011: 275–277.

32 Cf. Förstel 1979: 260.

33 Against later inclusion, see the recent discussion with bibliography of Richardson 2010: 126–131. For later insertion, West 2003: 9–12; Chappell 2011: 73.

34 On narrator τις-speeches, a relatively common feature in Homer, see De Jong 1987b.

This picture of concord between two female divinities contrasts sharply with the instances of confrontational and aggressive direct speech between divinities of the opposite sex in the Pythian section of the *Hymn*. In the case of Hera's strong words against Zeus discussed above, the structural progression of her speeches even recalls that of the earlier exchange between Leto and Delos: Leto's initial address and subsequent oath by the Earth, Heaven, and Styx (ἴστω νῦν τάδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν | καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ 84–85) is echoed by Hera's address against Zeus and subsequent prayer to the Earth, Heavens, and Titans (κέκλυτε νῦν μοι, Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν | Τιτῆνές τε θεοί 334–335). Zeus' response is lacking, but unlike in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, where Demeter's angry response to Zeus is made through intermediaries and presented in indirect speech, Hera's direct words underline the strife between husband, wife, and offspring.

Confrontational speech between the sexes also features in Apollo's encounters with Telphousa and the dragon. Apollo makes an initial address to Telphousa stating his intentions to found a temple (247–253), she responds in anger and tricks him into going to Crisa (257–274), and he moves on to Parnassus and again states his intention to build a temple (287–293). Following the digression of the Hera-Typhaon episode, Apollo kills and addresses the female dragon (363–369), and finally, upon realizing that Telphousa tricked him, he returns to the river and quickly addresses her (379–381) before covering up her waters with rocks. The speech between Apollo and Telphousa once again echoes Leto's exchange with Delos: this time recalling the content of Leto's deferential request that Delos accept her son and his temple, Apollo instead straightforwardly informs Telphousa that he intends to build his temple in her territory (Τελφοῦσ', ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω περικαλλέα νηόν | ἀνθρώπων τεῦξαι χρηστήριον 247–248).[35] Apollo's final address to Telphousa (379–381) underlines his triumph over her trickery and the status he wins in his dominance over her (ἐνθάδε δὴ καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος ἔσσεται, οὐδὲ σὸν οἴης 381).

Gender conflict aside, there are several similarities in the handling of speech between the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Demeter* already examined. With his power established, the final instances of direct speech in the *Hymn to Apollo* take place between Apollo and the Cretan sailors. These speeches, which with one exception are ten lines or longer (Apollo in disguise 452–461, Cretan leader 464–473, Apollo revealing himself 475–501, leader of Cretans 526–530, Apollo 532–544), serve to dramatize the establishment of cult practice at Delphi, similar to the way in which Demeter's speech to Metaneira in the

35 Leto instead appeals to the wishes of Delos: Δῆλ', εἴ κ' ἐθέλοις ἕδος ἔμμεναι υἷος ἐμοῖο 51.

Homeric Hymn to Demeter (256–274) places instructions for the establishment of cult practice in the very mouth of the goddess. Like the *Hymn to Demeter,* the *Hymn to Apollo* contains several extremely short speeches more reminiscent of Hesiodic than Homeric style: Apollo's first speech after his birth consists of only two lines (131–132); his rebuke of Telphousa later in the poem is only three lines long (379–381), and one response of the Cretan leader is only five lines long (526–530). Messages are also given and spoken in indirect speech: the goddesses attending Leto send Iris to fetch Eileithyia (102–114), and both their instructions and her message are represented indirectly; this despite the fact that she is said to address winged words to Eileithyia (111 ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα), a formula which normally precedes direct speech. But the most striking similarity in the handling of speech between the two poems is the absence of any direct speech by Zeus.

Hymn to Hermes

The *Hymn to Hermes* in several respects does not depart greatly from Homeric practice in its treatment of speech. As noted at the outset, it contains 48% direct speech, a level very similar to the *Iliad.* There are some instances of direct speech which consist of only three or four lines (Hermes to the Old Man of Onchestus 90–93, Apollo to Hermes 301–303, Zeus to Apollo 330–332, and Apollo to Hermes 405–408), but there are also lengthy exchanges of conversation reminiscent of Homer.

There is on the whole a noticeable difference in the length of the direct speeches in the first section of the poem (which tells of Hermes' birth, theft of the cattle, and Apollo's initial attempts to regain his cattle from Hermes 1–312), and in the second section of the poem (which recounts the trial on Olympus and the reconciliation between Apollo and Hermes 313–580). In the former, the twelve direct speeches by Hermes, Maia, Apollo, and the Old Man of Onchestus tend to be relatively short, none beyond nineteen lines long: Hermes to tortoise (30–38), Hermes to Old Man (90–93), Maia to Hermes (155–161), Hermes to Maia (163–181), Apollo to Old Man (190–200), Old Man to Apollo (202–211), Apollo to himself (219–226), Apollo to Hermes (254–259), Hermes to Apollo (261–277), Apollo to Hermes (282–292), Apollo to Hermes (301–303), Hermes to Apollo (307–312). This brings the amount of direct speech in the first section (111/312 lines) to 35.58%. The eight speeches in the second section, however, tend to be longer: Zeus to Apollo (330–332), Apollo to Zeus (334–364), Hermes to Zeus (368–386), Apollo to Hermes (405–408), Apollo to Hermes (436–462), Hermes to Apollo (464–495), Apollo to Hermes (514–520), Apollo to Hermes

(526–568). In contrast to the first section, the overall amount of direct speech in the second section is 61.94%. Speech thus dominates the scenes of arbitration and reconciliation, while the narrative mode dominates the first section.

It is that much more noticeable therefore that Zeus does not have a major speaking role in the second part of the poem, despite the fact that he acts as the mediator between Apollo and Hermes. Zeus does speak once directly on this occasion, but in the whole of the arbitration scene he speaks only three short lines at the outset to Apollo, in order to ask why his son has come before him (330–332). After two relatively lengthy accounts in direct speech by the young gods of their respective positions, Zeus' response is instead represented indirectly, as he orders his two sons to be reconciled and Hermes to show Apollo where the cattle are hidden (391–394). Apollo immediately accepts his father's commands with a nod of the head and the trickster Hermes is also persuaded (νεῦσεν δὲ Κρονίδης, ἐπεπείθετο δ' ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμῆς· | ῥηϊδίως γὰρ ἔπειθε Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο 395–396). Zeus therefore issues the effective and needed commands, but the exchanges between his competing sons are nonetheless given emphasis through their more vivid presentation in direct speech. Upon departing from Olympus in search of the cattle, it is then again through an exchange of direct speech that Apollo and Hermes settle an initial compact of friendship, exchanging the lyre for cattle and honour.

A similar distribution of direct and indirect speech is found later in the poem, upon the return of the now reconciled Apollo and Hermes to Olympus. We hear from the narrator that Zeus is glad of their agreement and brings them together in friendship (χάρη δ' ἄρα μητίετα Ζεύς | ἄμφω δ' ἐς φιλότητα συνήγαγε 506–507), but he again has no presence in direct speech. Apollo alone continues to speak directly: he is worried that his brother will trick him to take the lyre back and demands that Hermes swear an oath (514–520). Hermes is said by the narrator to nod and promise not to steal the lyre back, upon which Apollo also agrees a strong friendship with his brother, unusually then breaking into a lengthy direct speech midway through a line (526–568), in which Apollo details the final distribution of τιμαί between himself and Hermes. Many editors have supposed a lacuna after verse 568, given the change in construction from the imperative/hortatory subjunctive to the infinitive, which has also suggested a change in speaker from Apollo. This is disputed recently by Vergados, who points to *Iliad* 3. 281–286 as parallel for the switch to the infinitive and suggests that Apollo might himself in the subsequent speech bestow honours upon Hermes.[36] This would reduce Zeus' role even further. If

36 See Vergados 2012: ad loc.

one does assume a lacuna, the subsequent indirect speech (569–573), which confirms the new division of τιμαί between Apollo and Hermes, would almost certainly be that of Zeus.[37] But the effect of this contrast between direct and indirect speech would nevertheless again be to distance Zeus, even as he acts as supreme arbitrator of the gods, and to bring to greater prominence the interaction and agency of his two sons. The more distant voice of Zeus at the end of the poem is perhaps particularly appropriate, for Apollo in his preceding and final speech to Hermes and Zeus has just confirmed at length his own right to know and distribute the will of Zeus to humans through prophecy.[38] The ultimate power of Zeus is ever present, but we hear about his will only from the oracular mouth of Apollo and the narrative voice of the poet, whom Apollo now at the end of the poem also inspires, having received the lyre from Hermes.

Hymn to Aphrodite

Turning to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, we encounter the *Hymn* that most closely follows Homeric practice with respect to speech. As mentioned above, the percentage of direct speech in the poem is very high at 57 %.[39] The style of the speeches is perhaps also more Homeric: Anchises' first address to Aphrodite consists of 15 lines (92–106), her response takes up 35 lines (108–142), and his subsequent acceptance of her lie occupies ten lines; a more Homeric pace. Only one speech, Aphrodite's provocation of Anchises from sleep after he has again taken her full form as a goddess (177–179), is under three lines. This is followed by Anchises' brief six-line appeal to Aphrodite not to harm him (185–190). Aphrodite then delivers a long speech of justification and warning to Anchises in the last third of the poem (192–290). Indirect speech is accordingly seldom used in the *Hymn*, although we do hear near the beginning of the poem, before the start of the narrative proper, indirectly of Aphrodite's boasts about making gods and goddesses sleep with mortals (48–52). In Aphrodite's embedded narrative of the love-affair of Zeus and Ganymedes (202–217), Hermes also tells all to Tros (εἶπέν τε ἕκαστα 212) at the command of Zeus.[40]

37 See Clay 1989: 148 n. 164 with bibliography.

38 A point raised earlier also in Hermes' speech to Apollo (471–474).

39 Apart from Aphrodite's extraordinary prophetic address of 99 lines at the end of the poem, 36 % of the first 191 lines (69/191) are in direct speech.

40 Beck 2001: 56 claims erroneously that there are no instances of indirect speech in *Aphr*.

Once again, however, there is no direct speech from the mouth of Zeus in the *Hymn*. He is the instigator of Aphrodite's love affair, a detail that is very probably an invention of the poet,[41] but he remains in the background throughout the narrative. This is perhaps to be expected: Zeus is turning the tables on the goddess of love, and it remains unclear throughout the poem whether Aphrodite is aware that she has been duped by Zeus.[42] Nonetheless, the fact remains that the narrative vividness of direct speech is reserved in the poem for the interaction between Aphrodite and Anchises. There is no direct speech exchanged between gods and, although Zeus is the instigator of the affair and a constant background presence, the spotlight shines upon Aphrodite as she embarrasses herself on the mortal stage. Her first speeches to Anchises seduce and trick the shepherd into believing she is a mortal woman, even though we know that she is the one who has been tricked. Her long final speech is then a detailed explanation of her embarrassment and a series of warnings to keep the whole affair quiet, which for the audience of the *Hymn* ironically undermine her very injunctions against Anchises.

First Hymn to Dionysus

The remains of the first *Hymn to Dionysus* perhaps offer an exception to the pattern of Zeus' silence in the *Homeric Hymns*: Zeus certainly speaks more than three lines at the end of the poem in the section preserved in the Leiden manuscript M (1–3 form the end of a speech declaring Dionysus' honours), and if the attribution of P. Oxy. 670 to the hymn is correct, this could, according to West's reconstruction, contain lines of direct speech by Zeus to Hera.[43] Torres-Guerra suggests that the direct speech in the fragment is an argument for its belonging to the first *Hymn*, on the basis that direct speech is a characteristic of the longer hymns.[44] As, however, we have seen, extended direct speech by Zeus cannot be considered a characteristic of the *Hymns*. When Zeus does speak directly at the end of the *Hymn* in the Leiden fragment, it is in an official role as the bestower of τιμαί upon Dionysus, in contrast to his indirect speech

41 See Faulkner 2008: 136.

42 See De Jong 1989: 21 and Faulkner 2008: 204.

43 See West 2001: 5–8. Dihle 2002, however, maintains on stylistic grounds that P. Oxy. 670 and even the end of the hymn preserved in the Leiden manuscript are products of a time no earlier than the Hellenistic period. See also Faulkner 2010 on two points of vocabulary in P. Oxy. 670 that are not elsewhere attested before the fourth century.

44 Torres–Guerra 2003: 5.

in the *Hymn to Hermes*, but it is ultimately impossible to estimate on the basis of the fragments how much direct speech was employed throughout the complete poem.

Conclusion

There is enough in the preceding survey to suggest that the treatment of speech in the *Homeric Hymns* consistently privileges voices other than that of Zeus. In three of the four long *Hymns*, Zeus makes no address in direct speech, and when his words are related directly in *Hermes*, they are limited to three lines; this feature contrasts with Homer, in which Zeus makes lengthy speeches to the gods, and with Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which, despite the small amount of direct speech relative to the Homeric epics, Zeus' speech is represented directly on a number of occasions. When Zeus does speak in the *Hymns*, his words are more often related indirectly. This has particular effects in individual *Hymns*. In all cases, however, the lack of direct speech by Zeus in the *Hymns* serves to lessen the vividness of his role in the unfolding narratives. This is not to say that Zeus does not have a central function in the *Hymns*. Jenny Clay and others have demonstrated amply the importance of Zeus and his will within the narratives of the longer *Homeric Hymns*. The treatment of speech may nonetheless suggest that Zeus is viewed as a more distant, inscrutable force in the *Hymns* than in Homer or Hesiod. One might compare Zeus' even more distant role in tragedy: it is possible that he never appeared as a character on the Athenian stage, despite the importance of his authority and will, and if he did appear it was an extreme rarity.[45] Zeus orchestrates much in the background of the *Hymns* and acts as the ultimate arbitrator between the gods. But if his power is always present and uppermost, his persona is less visible. The narrative spotlight instead focuses, albeit not absolutely, upon the gods underneath Zeus who are struggling to find their own place within the now established rule of the son of Kronos.

45 Taplin 1977: 431–432 argues that he did not appear at all; but see more recently S. West 1984: 294–295 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 463–465.

PART 2

Hellenistic Hymns

CHAPTER 3

Callimachus and His Narrators

S.A. Stephens

Callimachus wrote six hymns. They have come down to us via a single manuscript, no longer extant, that also contained the *Homeric Hymns*. Whether Callimachus himself was responsible or a later editor these six hymns give every indication of being a carefully arranged collection at both formal and thematic levels, which grants some license for considering them as a group.[1] Study of the hymns' narrators will not resolve the question of whether these are authorially arranged, but it will allow, by simple aggregation, for us to learn something that treating the hymns individually will not. In what follows I will first describe the collection and its relationship to the *Homeric Hymns*, then categorize the types of speakers before drawing conclusions about the nature of Callimachus' narrative experiments.

The Hymns as a Collection and the *Homeric Hymns*

The six hymns fall into three pairs. The hymns to Zeus (1) and Apollo (2) locate their divinities respectively in Alexandria and Cyrene and insist on the closeness of the two—Apollo (2. 29) sits at the right hand of Zeus.[2] These two hymns, more than the others, focus on one specific sphere of proprietary oversight for the divinity: kings for Zeus and song for Apollo. In both there is a temporal transition from mythological time and a spatial transition that slides into and out of historical time from north (Arcadia, Sparta) to south (Alexandria, Cyrene). Artemis and Apollo, the twin children of Leto, are the subjects of the next two hymns; both feature divinities in motion from the central to the eastern Mediterranean and both hymns end at cult sites important to the early

1 That the hymns are an authorial set is now the consensus; see e.g., Hopkinson 1984: 13; Haslam 1993: 115; Hunter and Fuhrer 2002: 145; Ukleja 2005: 24; Morrison 2007: 105; Cusset and Acosta-Hughes 2010. This does not make them so, but does attest to the sense of cohesion that has generated this collective response.

2 See Fantuzzi 2011: 450–451, who observes that Apollo sitting "to the right of Zeus" also defines the position of hy. 2 within a papyrus roll.

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Ptolemies: respectively Ephesus and Delos. These sites are portrayed as under attack and successfully defended. Like the first pair hy. 3 and hy. 4 have a narrative trajectory that follows the divinity from birth/babyhood to maturity with its concommitant responsibilities and their narrative arc moves from mythological to historical time.[3] The final pair are parallel narratives of Athena and Demeter respectively. Both feature inserted tales of young men, from whom the goddess exacts retribution: Athena takes away the sight of Teiresias for accidentally seeing her as she bathed in the wild; Demeter punishes Erysichthon for deliberately trying to cut down her sacred tree. These last two privilege contemporary time by confining the mythological exempla within the frame tale.

Although the *Homeric Hymns* were not particularly popular by the Hellenistic period, Callimachus' debt to them is transparent: the opening of the first hymn echoes the opening of the now fragmentary *Homeric hymn to Dionysus*, which may have been the first hymn in the Homeric collection,[4] while the precocity of Zeus owes something to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*.[5] The third hymn (to Artemis) depends on the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* for its overall structure: like the earlier hymn it falls into two parts, the first of which seems to close, after which the hymn begins again.[6] The *Homeric Hymn to Pan* has influenced the Arcadian section of this hymn.[7] The fourth hymn (to Delos) reflects the Delian portion of *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. The sixth hymn (to Demeter) exists in counterpoint with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, though it dismisses early on (6. 17) the Eleusinian version of Demeter's wanderings, and the fifth hymn (to Athena) plays off of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.[8] Although hy. 2 (to Apollo) reprises moments in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, its Cyrenean focus and paeanlike refrains make it the least Homeric of Callimachus' hymns. From this cursory survey it is clear that the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* has the greatest structural and narrative impact on Callimachus' six (hy. 2, 3, 4), with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in second place (hy. 6); the others are appropriated at various intertextual moments but do not play a role in shaping his collection.

3 Arsinoe II was married to Lysimachus of Thrace and Ephesus was for a period renamed Arsinoe; Callimachus includes the historical circumstance of the attack of the Cimmerians on the shrine in hy. 3; the Gaulish invasion of Delphi is prophesied in hy. 4.

4 Hunter and Fuhrer 2002: 172–173.

5 Clauss 1986.

6 Bing and Uhrmeister 1994.

7 Faulkner 2013.

8 Hadjittofi 2008.

Callimachus' choice of models has been explained by Peter Bing as literary *aemulatio*: quoting a much earlier comment of Hans Herter, he argues that choosing hymns for imitation was the least Homeric way to be Homeric, that is, hymns provided poetic models of epic diction and mythological events within a smaller narrative compass and they did not require competing with the Homer of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.[9] At the level of language and diction the hymns are certainly epic, but (as is clear from the *Hecale*) these features were available to Callimachus without necessarily replicating the formal features of a hymn. On the principle that poets are products of their time and place as much as they are heirs of the literary code that they adapt, a more complete explanation is that of Hunter and Fuhrer, that these hymns may well have been a "dynamic system … of overlapping relations in a divine hierarchy [that] turns [them] into a kind of *Theogony*."[10] To take this a step further, Callimachus' choice of models and indeed of his very act of writing hymns seems to construct an Olympic pantheon for the new city of Alexandria—not necessarily divinities who were central in the newly evolving Alexandrian festival culture (though Zeus and Demeter were) but pan-Hellenic divinities relevant to the dynastic and commercial enterprises of the early Ptolemies. Callimachus provides his hymnic subjects with up-dated narratives that reflect southern and eastern Mediterranean interests—Cyrene, Alexandria, Delos, Ephesus—while linking them formally and intertextually to their archaic past.[11] Moreover the divinities of the first four hymns enact a divine family, Zeus, Leto, Artemis, and Apollo, who displace Hera and her son Ares. This is explicit at 3.29–31: ὅτε μοι τοιαῦτα θέαιναι | τίκοιεν, τυτθόν κεν ἐγὼ ζηλήμονος Ἥρης | χωομένης ἀλέγοιμι ("when goddesses bear for me to such children as these, I would pay little heed to the jealousy of an angry Hera"), while in hy. 4, Hera and Ares are linked with the forces of chaos and cosmic instability. More than one scholar has noticed that this Olympian repositioning bears some resemblance to the Ptolemaic family of Soter, Berenice I, Arsinoe II, and Ptolemy II.[12] For these refurbished divinities Callimachus selects rituals that would have had resonance with local populations and cult sites important to the Ptolemaic regime. Within these hymns how and who narrates reinforces this temporal shift as

9 2009: 34.

10 Hunter and Fuhrer 2002: 145.

11 See Stephens 2013 for Callimachus and cultural memory.

12 See, e.g., Fantuzzi 2011: 451–452. Soter divorced Arsinoe I in favour of Berenice I, and the latter's children included Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II, who was the youngest of Soter's sons, yet succeeded him as monarch. Another daughter, Philotera was associated with Demeter after her death.

Callimachus appropriates more local models and regional speaking voices (particularly in the Doric hymns) than these earlier hymns provided.

Despite many stylistic and verbal parallels and considerable allusive interdependence, Callimachus' hymns operate within rather different narrative parameters, at times seeming to emulate earlier hymnic narratives but more often mimicking a wide variety of non hymnic voices. The mimetic impulse is so great that Callimachus' hymns are generally categorized as mimetic and diegetic, a division that depends on the assigned roles of the narrator. The diegetic hymns ostensibly follow the traditional patterns of the *Homeric Hymns*—a single external narrator who speaks on behalf of the collective addressing the god in the *Du-stil* or narrating divine accomplishments in the *Er-stil* or a mixture of both. The hymns to Zeus, Artemis, and Delos fall into this pattern, the latter two in particular seem closely modelled on the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. In contrast, the other three—the hymns to Apollo, Athena, and Demeter—are mimetic; in these hymns the narrator is internal to the action, his/her identity is not apparent, and in fact it is not always easy to be sure how many narrators there are. The mimetic hymns surround the auditor with the sights and sounds of the ritual event as one or more speakers assumes a role of participant within the drama of the rite. However, this diegetic/mimetic division is deceptive: there is constant interplay between the two modes of representation in all of the hymns.[13] Because Callimachus wrote several centuries after the archaic period, his models for hymnic narration had necessarily expanded. If the *Homeric Hymns* are his formal model, the seductive voices of lyric, and of tragedy and iambic are also to be heard. Thus Callimachus experiments with a much greater and more subtle range of narrators than do the archaic poets, which leads to greater variation in tone and narrative complexity than is apparent in earlier hymns. Very often the hymns have the feel of a narratological experiment, in which multiple voices converge, without formally signalling transition. This narratorial enjambing helps to create a fictional world that is more immediately present and tangible than the world we experience in the *Homeric Hymns*.

Callimachean Narrators

Callimachean narrators include notionally external narrators (whether, in Genette's terms, hetero- or homo-diegetic): a single narrator akin to but subtly

13 Harder 1992: 384.

different from that of a *Homeric Hymn*, or a speaker who offers information or interjected comments that suggest that he is identical with the historical poet. Internal narrators include speakers who appear to be officiants or participants in a specific ritual event and often the divinity hymned. Diegetic material is also provided by numerous characters who interact with the divinities in dramatic sequences. In addition the hymns boast a number of adventitious speakers, the identification of whom is formally ambiguous. When talking about Callimachus' narrators scholars inevitably segue into a discussion of intertextuality, in part because the hymns so obviously have an intertextual relationship with previous *Homeric Hymns*, but equally because Callimachus' selection of rare or *hapax* words and phrases taken from Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, lyric, tragedy, and iambic have an immediate auditory impact. In fact, the context of such marked borrowings almost always creates an echo effect, as if in the background we were hearing earlier poets speaking their lines.[14] Two examples will suffice: at hy. 1.5: ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον is a variation of the first line of Antagoras of Rhodes' *Hymn to Eros*: ἐν δοιῇ μοι θυμός, ὅ τοι γένος ἀμφίσβητον.[15] Antagoras is in doubt about the disputed tradition over the birth of Eros—was he the oldest of the gods, or youngest? At hy. 5.4 we hear: σοῦσθέ νυν, ὦ ξανθαὶ σοῦσθε Πελασγιάδες. Earlier, the rare imperative σοῦσθε is repeated at Aeschylus, *Suppliants* (836 and again at 842), addressed by the Egyptians to the daughters of Danaus; in these same words the hymnic narrator addresses their descendants. In what follows it will be clear that clean lines of division between types of voices I have just set out do not exist; this is especially true about intertextual voices, which cannot be treated separately, but to a greater or lesser extant are a property of every speech act in the hymns.

A Narrating *aoidos*?

Two of the hymns (hy. 3 and 4) feature an external narrator who behaves in many respects like a Homeric *aoidos*. Both hymns begin in ways that reflect the opening of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθομαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο. The hymn to Artemis begins: Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν ἀειδόντεσσι

14 See Cusset 2011 for poetic voices (other than Homer) in Callimachus.

15 Fr. 1.1 Powell (ἀμφίσβητον Meineke, ἀμφιβόητον codd.). See Cuypers 2004: 96–102 who defends the reading of the codices and provides a cogent argument for the priority of Antagoras.

λαθέσθαι) | ὑμνέομεν, and the Delos: τὴν ἱερήν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον †ηποτ ἀείδεις | Δῆλον.[16] Yet both lines have marked divergences from earlier hymnic narrators. In hy. 3 the noun ἀειδόντεσσι is used previously only in Plato's *Rep.* 424b8–9 in a passage that condemns musical innovation. Plato is "quoting" Homer, *Od.* 1.351–352: … ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπιφρονέουσ' (for Homer's ἐπικλείουσ') ἄνθρωποι, | ἥτις ἀειδόντεσσι (for Homer's ἀκουόντεσσι) νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται as part of his argument. But Plato has altered the Homeric text in two ways: he emphasizes thoughtful memory (ἐπιφρονέουσι) instead of the standard Homeric idea of praise (ἐπικλείουσι) and he shifts the emphasis from audience (ἀκουόντεσσι) to poets (ἀειδόντεσσι). There are two ways to understand Callimachus' use of the otherwise *hapax* ἀειδόντεσσι: either he and Plato were both aware of a text of Homer with this reading or Callimachus deliberately alludes to Plato's "misreading." Since Plato's reading is in a context of debate over musical innovation the latter is inherently more likely.[17] If this line of reasoning is correct, then Callimachus' narrator signals his intention at the very opening of his poem to offer a hymn that is an innovation on Homer, an ἀοιδὴ … νεωτάτη, and indeed the hymn begins with a scene taken from Homer that quickly reshapes the Artemis of the *Iliad* for a later world. Hy. 4 similarly departs from the Homeric hymnic practice: the narrator's address to his θύμος adapts a feature that first occurs in lyric.[18] If these hymns offer the most straightforward form of external narrator, they are surrounded by hymns with more complex narratorial arrangements.

The first hymn too shares narrative traits with the *Homeric Hymns*. It begins:

Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῇσιν ἀείδειν
λώϊον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,
Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, δικασπόλον Οὐρανίδῃσι;
πῶς καί νιν, Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἠὲ Λυκαῖον;
ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον.
Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσί φασι γενέσθαι,
Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο;
"Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται"·

16 For the textual difficulties in this line see Mineur 1984; they do not affect the observations above.

17 For Callimachus' extensive engagement with Plato see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2012: 23–83.

18 E.g., Pind. *Ol.* 2.89, *Nem.* 3.26, and Theognis (213, 695, 877, 1029).

> Would anything else be better to hymn at libations of Zeus than the god himself, ever great, ever lord, router of the Titans, dispenser of justice for the sons of Ouranos? But how shall we hymn him, as Dictaean or Lycaean? (5) My heart is in doubt, for the birth is contested. Zeus, some say you were born in the Idaean mountains; Zeus, others say in Arcadia. Which of them is telling falsehoods, father? "Cretans always lie."

The narrator's initial aporia has many hymnic parallels,[19] though the most revealing for our purposes is the opening of the now fragmentary *Homeric hymn to Dionysus*:

> οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ', οἱ δ' Ικάρῳ ἠνεμοέσσῃ
> φάσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ
> …
> ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβῃσιν ἄναξ σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι
> ψευδόμενοι·
> 1–2, 6–7

> Some say in Drakanos, some in windswept Ikaros, some in Naxos … others say, Lord, that you were born in Thebes, speaking falsely.

The declarative ψευδόμενοι in the Dionysus *Hymn* is translated into a question addressed to the (as we will learn) still-to-be-born divinity. That, combined with the narrator's doubting heart (ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός) and his insistence on competing voices (ἀμφήριστον), creates a fiction of someone in dialogue with himself (at the very least) or with off-stage voices over what direction (new or old) he should choose to go in. Then to address Zeus as πάτερ is conventionally Homeric, but by doing so, the narrator not only establishes his own relationship with the divinity, he coopts that Zeus for the hymnic realignment to follow, as the choice the god is given is between the Hesiodic version of his birth (Crete) versus that which Callimachus will go on to prefer (Arcadia). If it is Zeus who answers this question (see below), his rejection of Hesiod authorizes the narrator's.

In all three of these hymns (1,3,4) this external narrator occasionally takes on aspects of "Callimachus" as narrating "I," especially when the temporal framework shifts between mythological and contemporary time. At the end of the Zeus hymn (1.84–87) the speaker introduces "my king," whose easy accomplish-

19 See, e.g., Pindar's first hymn (fr. 29 S-M), a prosodion (fr. 89a S-M).

ments mirror Zeus's rapid growth to maturity. This in turn effectively moves the hymn away from Crete, to the contemporary world of the speaker. The most explicit example of this phenomenon occurs when the narrator of the foundation story of Cyrene in hy. 2 claims: πάντη δέ τοι οὔνομα πουλύ· | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Καρνεῖον· ἐμοὶ δὲ πατρώιον οὕτω. ("everywhere is your name, but I call your Carneius, for thus is the practice of my fathers"), alluding to Apollo Carneius the patron deity of Cyrene. Since Callimachus was Cyrenean, this statement effects a collapse between the narrator of the opening who is an intradiegetic speaker (discussed below) and the speaker of these lines, who on the surface would appear extradiegetic. Because these two hymns occur at the beginning of the collection, they predispose readers (consciously or otherwise) to identify subsequent narratorial intrusions as "Callimachus" as well. Thus when, in hymns 3 and 4, there are what appear to be personal asides tangential to the narrative—interjections of information like the previous name of Lipari (3.47–48) or questions about the relationship of dryads to their trees (4.84–85)—rupturing any convention of an Homeric *aoidos* and suggesting rather an inquisitive or informed speaker, readers of the hymns as a group will be disposed to associate these intrusions with the historical Callimachus, not the persona of an otherwise fictional external narrator.

Intradiegetic Narrators

The hymns to Athena and Demeter provide the most extended examples of intradiegetic narrators. In the latter the narrator appears to be one of the unshod women with unbound hair (124: ὡς δ' ἀπεδίλωτοι καὶ ἀνάμπυκες ἄστυ πατεῦμες): an officiating priestess or otherwise central figure in the rite. Though unnamed she behaves like a fictional character, not a traditional singer who stands outside of the action. A similarly fictional speaker (or speakers) opens the hymn to Athena: ὅσσοι λωτροχόοι τᾶς Παλλάδος ἔξιτε πᾶσαι, | ἔξιτε. Since the cultic event as described excludes men from viewing the bathing ritual in all likelihood our speaker is female here as well as in the following hymn. If this is right, within hymns as a whole there is a noticable shift from male to female narrator for the last two that coincides with the trend already visible in hymns 3–4 where goddesses (Artemis, Leto, Delos) are the narrative subjects, and in which all three have speaking roles.[20] It appears as if, in the course of the six,

20 Callimachus shows a predilection for female characters elsewhere in his poetry, especially in bks. 3 and 4 of the *Aetia* and in the *Hecale*.

the male narrators are slowly displaced by female voices and anything that might be identified with the voice of "Callimachus" is last heard in the Delos hymn.

In five of the six hymns the divinities hymned have important speaking parts: Apollo chastises Phthonos at the end of hy. 2 and expresses his own poetic preferences (108–112); in hy. 4, Apollo utters two prophecies from his mother's womb, the first foretelling the destruction of the children of Niobe (88–98), the second the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi and later Ptolemy II's defeat of Gauls in Egypt (160–204); Artemis has a long opening plea to her father for divine prerogratives in 3.6–25, which Zeus then redirects 3.28–38; Athena has an exchange with Chariclo in 5.80–130, Demeter (having assumed the aspect of her own priestess) tries to deflect Erysichthon from his sacrilegeous behavior 6.40–64; Leto in dialogue with Peneios plays a "tragic" role in that hymn (4.132–152), and even Delos herself has a small part, bravely defying Hera's threats (4.202–204). Only Zeus of the first hymn remains silent (unless the line "all Cretans are liars" should be assigned to him, on which see below). The divine voices in these hymns, with the exception of Hera, function to punish wrongdoers and/or assert moral authority: Apollo's prophecies warn future evil-doers of their punishment; Zeus in hy. 4, though not speaking, is described as having diffused Hera's anger (4.259). Athena asserts that Teiresias has violated the "laws of Cronus" (5.100) but she ameliorates his punishment with gifts of prophecy and longevity, and Demeter, identified with Themis (6.18), inflicts a punishment on Erysichthon to suit his crime. Artemis' requests also fit this pattern; characterized as a greedy child—she says "gimme" five times—her desires are redirected by her father to prerogatives that also preserve a just human order. As divinities throughout the hymns are cloaked with and mediate just behaviours, in retrospect Apollo's utterance to Phthonos (2.108–112) tranforms matters of poetic taste to conform to the new cosmic order while providing a model of reader-response for the rest of the hymns. Throughout the hymns abundance and prosperity as invested in the king or cult shrine are linked to just behavior—this is especially obvious in the closure of the first and last hymns and in hymns 3 and 4.

A range of other named speakers populate these hymns: Rhea, Phthonos, Heracles, Peneios, Chariclo, Triopas, Erysichthon, each in a vignette that operates on multiple levels. For example, Rhea's speech at 1.29: Γαῖα φίλη, τέκε καὶ σύ is a direct imitation of *Il.* 21.106 and 119 in which Achilles kills Lycaon, a son of Priam, first taunting him: ἀλλά, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ. "But, friend, you die too." After he strikes Lycaon with his sword, copious amounts of blood flow (ῥέε) and soak the ground (γαῖαν). Similarly, after Rhea speaks she strikes a mountain, splitting it in two, and from it a great flood flows. Commentators have suggested that

the bizarre choice of intertext probably results from the homonym with the Lycaon who was an early king of Arcadia and from whom the local Arcadian mountain (where Zeus is now born) took its name.[21] But Rhea's echo of this Iliadic passage is more than a clever mnemonic effect. In essence, Callimachus transforms a typical Homeric moment of war and death (θάνε) into the production of life (τέκε) and the flow of blood becomes the flow of water that sustains life.[22] Thus the speech act, because the Homeric words may be heard in the distance, resets the poetic agendas not just for the first hymn but for all six. It should come as no surprise that the Zeus who is born immediately before this moment is subsequently hymned for his oversight of just and therefore prosperous kings. Throughout these hymns war and martial values are displaced in favor of women, childbirth (an easy symbol of new poetic directions) and rituals for prosperity and divine favor.

If Rhea's speech is Homeric, the exchange of Peneios and Leto in hy. 4 is imbued with tragic diction and circumstance. When Ares threatens to uproot a mountain and hurl it into his streams if he provides succour to Leto, the old river Peneios exclaims at 127–128: τί μήσομαι; ἦ ἀπολέσθαι | ἡδύ τι Πενειόν; nevertheless he decides to help the pregnant goddess and to accept his fate: ἴτω πεπρωμένον ἦμαρ, τλήσομαι …[23] On the surface the tragic affect is humorous, but Peneios' fears are neither trivial nor self-aggrandizing. The Peneios was the central river of Thessaly, and damming it would have submerged the entire region.[24] Peneios' acceptance of his fate makes him akin to the victim of a violent and unstable tyrant, while Leto in her wandering, pursued by Hera's wrath, is reminiscent of figures like Io in the *Prometheus Bound*, and a little later in the hymn Iris's report to Hera (216–236) shares elements with the messenger scenes in tragedy.[25]

Two further examples are revealing for Callimachus' technique: Athena's reply to Chariclo in hy. 5 (on which see Vergados' extended treatment in this volume, pp. 77–82) and Triopas' anguished cry to his father Poseidon in hy. 6. In the first,

21 E.g., Griffiths 1981: 160.

22 Hopkinson 1988: 125.

23 For the language cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 1057, Soph. *Trach.* 973, Eur. *Alc.* 147, and Aesch. *PV* 103–105.

24 See Herodotus' discussion (7.130.1–2) where the Thessalians surrender to Xerxes rather than risk him damming the Peneios.

25 See Giuseppetti 2013: 116–118 for the influence of the *PV* on the Peneios scene; Hunter 1993: 96 asserts that Iris' speech employs motifs of breathlessness and fear often found in the opening of tragic messengers (he compares Soph. *Ant.* 223 ff.).

after Teiresias has been blinded for inadvertantly seeing Athena bathing, his mother Chariclo in tragic fashion rails in anger at this cruel fate. Athena attempts to soothe her, "quoting" "Cronus' immutable laws" and invoking the Moirai, who have spun this fate for her son:

> Κρόνιοι δ' ὧδε λέγοντι νόμοι·
> ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὄκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται,
> ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῶ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλω.
> δῖα γύναι, τὸ μὲν οὐ παλινάγρετον αὖθι γένοιτο
> ἔργον, ἐπεὶ Μοιρᾶν ὧδ' ἐπένησε λίνα,
> ἁνίκα τὸ πρᾶτόν νιν ἐγείναο· νῦν δὲ κομίζευ,
> ὦ Εὐηρείδα, τέλθος ὀφειλόμενον.

> But Cronus's laws proclaim this: whoever catches sight of an immortal, where the god himself does not choose, this one sees at a great price. Shining lady, this deed would not be reversible in the future, for so the thread of the Fates have spun, (105) when first you gave him birth. Now receive, child of Everes, the payment that is owed.

Athena may speak in Doric, but her language borrows from the exchange of Hecuba and Priam in *Il.* 24 where Hecuba begs her husband not to come into the sight of savage Achilles, proclaiming about her son Hector, dead at the hands of Achilles: ὥς ποθι Μοῖρα κραταιὴ | γιγνομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκον αὐτή, | ἀργίποδας κύνας ἆσαι ... (208–210: "thus in this way mighty fate spun the thread at his birth, when I myself bore him, to sate swift-footed dogs ..."). Athena's speech continues with a counter example of Actaeon, upon whom his own hounds "will feed" (114–115: κύνες τουτάκι δεινησεῦντι). If Athena's mention of Actaeon is small consolation to the grieving mother, the incorporation of Hecuba's words at one of the most "tragic" moments in Homeric epic mitigates Teiresias' fate by comparison not just with Actaeon but with the dead and brutalized Hector as well. It also serves to distance the world of the hymns from that of the *Iliad*, in which the family tragedy mirrors the destruction of Troy and its whole civilization.

At the close of the cautionary tale in hy. 6 Callimachus again turns to *Il.* 24, to the scene with Priam and Achilles. In hy. 5 the relationship of mothers and sons are positioned against the backdrop of Homeric pathos, but now our attention is drawn to the plight of fathers. The young Erysichthon has violated Demeter's sacred grove in order to build a banquet hall, and does so in defiance of the goddess' priestess (the goddess herself in disguise), which incurs the swift and fitting punishment of insatiable hunger. After his son has consumed all

of the household's stores his father Triopas appears, tearing his hair out and supplicating his own father Poseidon for aid with this querulous speech:

> ψευδοπάτωρ, ἴδε τόνδε τεοῦ τρίτον, εἴπερ ἐγὼ μέν
> σεῦ τε καὶ Αἰολίδος Κανάκας γένος, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο
> τοῦτο τὸ δείλαιον γένετο βρέφος· αἴθε γὰρ αὐτόν
> βλητὸν ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέϊξαν·
> νῦν δὲ κακὰ βούβρωστις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι κάθηται.
> ἢ οἱ ἀπόστασον χαλεπὰν νόσον ἠέ νιν αὐτός
> βόσκε λαβών· ἁμαὶ γὰρ ἀπειρήκαντι τράπεζαι.

> False father, behold this one here third (in descent) from you, if I am by birth from you and Canace, the daughter of Aeolus, and this wretched offspring is mine. If only, struck down by Apollo, my hands had buried him. But now evil ox-hunger sits in his eyes. Either remove this dire sickness from him, or take him and feed him yourself. For my tables refuse.

Triopas' bitter address to Poseidon as "false-father" climaxes with his wish that his son had been stuck dead by Apollo before such a fate as he now endures. Triopas' over-acting is underscored by an intertext: κακὰ βούβρωστις (102) again produces an echo effect. Elsewhere it occurs only *Il.* 24.532, where Priam and Achilles contemplate the bitterness of human fate. βούβρωστις in the *Iliad* seems to mean "ravening hunger."[26] Callimachus' choice of the word inserts the plight of Triopas and his son into that moment of intense pathos shared between enemies. But Triopas is grieving for a son who has not died and the terrible sadness of the *Iliad* sequence is undercut by by the poet's play on βούβρωστις in its literal sense, hunger for βοῦς, since a few lines later (108) Erysichthon will have even eaten the βοῦς that was destined for sacrifice.[27] At climactic moments then in these two hymns, speeches of a mother and a father in distress borrow language from Homer. The echoes bind the scenes in the hymns together, inserting the familial crises into a literary continuum, but in both cases reconfigure the epic outcome—Teiresias, unlike Hector, does not become food for the dogs, and Erysichthon, unlike Hector, is not dead despite his father's wishes. Neither episode approaches the pathos of the *Iliad*, but that is part of the point: Callimachus' hymns recalibrate epic emotions for a non-heroic world.

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26 For various attempts to explain the noun, see Richardson 1993: 331.

27 On this passage see further Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2012: 19–20.

Ambiguous Narrators

A signature aspect of Callimachus' voicings are occasional speakers who cannot be identified. In the opening of hy. 1, for example, to his question "Zeus, some say you were born in the Idaean mountains, some in Arcadia. Which of the two, father, is lying?" comes this response: Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται. But who is talking? Father Zeus? The narrator quoting an old saw to resolve his dilemma? Or in fact Epimenides, the Cretan sage to whom the saying is attributed? A reasonable case can be made for each option, but a decision may not be necessary since we can hear all three: Epimenides uttered the original words; if Zeus speaks, he will be quoting him, and the narrator in turn would be quoting Zeus.

Hymn 4. 82–85 offers an even more complex case:

ἐμαὶ θεαὶ εἴπατε Μοῦσαι,
ἦ ῥ' ἐτεὸν ἐγένοντο τότε δρύες ἡνίκα Νύμφαι;
Νύμφαι μὲν χαίρουσιν, ὅτε δρύας ὄμβρος ἀέξει,
Νύμφαι δ' αὖ κλαίουσιν, ὅτε δρυσὶ μηκέτι φύλλα.

My goddesses, Muses, tell me, is it really true that the oaks were born simultaneously with the nymphs? For the nymphs rejoice when rain makes the oaks grow, (85) but they weep when there are no longer leaves on the oaks.

Editors differ on whether to punctuate lines 84–85 as a direct quotation, thus making it the response of the Muses addressed at 81, or the narrator's own observation, incorporated into his question.[28] In the latter case, the Muses remain mute. The appropriation of the Muses as ἐμαὶ θεαί confuses the issue further—these are not the generic Muses that we would expect the Homeic *aoidos* to address,[29] but closer kin to Theocritus' ἡμέτερας Χαρίτας in Id. 16.6. Callimachus' Muses are mentioned in the same breath as near by Mt. Helicon and they are invoked here not for inspiration but for specific information that lies outside of the narrator's purview. We find a similar relationship of "Callimachus" to the Muses at the opening of the *Aetia*, where transported to Helicon in a dream, the narrator quizzes them on matters of cultic detail. Whatever the chronology of *Aetia* bk. 1 and hy. 4, we have in them both a

28 A survey of familiar editions shows that Cahen and Mair print with no punctuation; Wilamowitz and Pfeiffer punctuate as a quotation.

29 Morrison 2007: 151–152.

consistent narratorial construct, which encourages modern readers at least to identify the speaker as "Callimachus" in retrospect. But however much the narrator of this hymn might appear to be a Homeric *aoidos*, he is not. As this moment makes clear, his relationship to his narrative is both more privileged and more focussed on accuracy of detail.[30] And the moment has a cosmic dimension. The portayal of natural phenomena like rivers and mountains and whole regions fleeing from Leto because they fear Hera's wrath may seem humorous, but simultaneously it is embued with the tragic when the natural landscape (as also with the case of Peneios) is placed at risk. Seriousness of events is underscored as the pre-natal Apollo momentarily finds himself compelled to speak out—addressing Thebe (the nymph/city) as she flees: φθέγξατο δ᾽ οὐκ ἀτέλεστον … The embryo, speaking from the his mother's womb as she flees, is stunning in its boldness, taking the precocious infants of the *Homeric Hymns* to a whole new level.

The hymn to Zeus (1.79) provides yet a different type of speaker. The phrase ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες is from Hesiod's *Works and Days* 57, and is normally punctuated as if it were a direct quotation, though syntactically it is well-integrated into what preceded:

> αὐτίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὑδείομεν Ἡφαίστοιο,
> τευχηστὰς δ᾽ Ἄρηος, ἐπακτῆρας δὲ Χιτώνης
> Ἀρτέμιδος, Φοίβου δὲ λύρης εὖ εἰδότας οἴμους·
> "ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες," ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
> θειότερον·

> For example, we say that bronzeworkers belong to Hephaestus, warriors to Ares, huntsmen to Tunic-clad Artemis, and to Phoebus those who are accomplished at the lyre, but "from Zeus are kings;" for nothing is more divine than Zeus' kings.

Because the immediately preceding section was heavily dependent on Hesiod's version of Zeus's birth on Crete these words prompt the reader to imagine that suddenly Hesiod himself is speaking, lending his poetic authority to Callimachus' narrator who now hymns Zeus as the god of kings.[31] In addition Hesiod's line effects closure of the "Hesiodic" section of the hymn. Lines 84–88 shift the narrative (and narrator) from the archaic allocation of divine prerog-

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30 For Callimachus' assertions about truth, see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2012: 20–22.

31 See Vergados, this volume pp. 71–74, for the importance of Hesiod's *Dichterweihe* in h. 5.

atives, in which Zeus gets kings, to a specific place—the location of ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι (84). By this gesture the narrator breaks with earlier hymnic tradition by introducing one specific monarch, Ptolemy, and the importation of this local king necessarily moves Zeus to Egypt. The narrator's initial doubts are resolved as Zeus is singled out as the patron of "our king," and by his choice of language the narrator now turns away from Hesiod to an Egyptian formula for kingship—whatever the king thinks he accomplishes as soon as he takes the thought.[32] Theocritus uses similar language in the *Encomium of Ptolemy* (17.13–15) of the deified Soter; for both poets this language highlights the fact that Ptolemy (whatever his number) is not only a Greek *basileus* but by virtue of conquest must rule Egypt as a pharaoh.[33]

While the majority of the narrators in the hymns fall into the categories set out above, the frequent lack of transitional markers for the beginning and end of a speech generates a certain amount of ambiguity. Although the poet does make use of such markers (cf. φθέγξατο above), often he dispenses with them (as we have seen) in favor of the immediacy of the speaking voice, a circumstance that has thwarted critical efforts to tease apart narrative voices. The greatest confusion exists in trying to identify or disintangle the narrator(s) of the second hymn. The breathless anticipation of the opening lines suggests a master of ceremonies (rather like the narrators of the fifth and sixth hymns) who instructs the unclean to absent themselves from the rite that is about to take place, then urges the chorus of young boys to get ready to sing and dance the paean. Does this speaker narrate the whole or does the chorus go on to sing the paean to Apollo beginning at line 34? If so, where does the paean end? Does it include the foundation of Cyrene? In which case the ἐγώ at 2. 71 describing the Carneian festival of Apollo is not "Callimachus" (as I suggested above), but the chorus speaking in the singular. However, Andrew Morrison notes the intertextual parallels with *Pythian* 5. 72 ff. where Pindar narrates the foundation of Cyrene, claiming his own descent from the Aegidae.[34] That intertext pushes us in the direction of "Callimachus" as narrator, not a chorus. Who then speaks 97–104, lines that move away from the praise of Apollo to rehearse the origins of the paean cry and introduce another voice, that of the by-standers, who shout encouragement to Apollo in

32 Stephens 2003: 112–113. The best Greek parallel for this sentiment is in the *Homeric hymn to Hermes* 17–18, describing the precocity of the newborn Hermes, but the more exact parallel belongs to Egyptian royal inscriptions describing the powers of the pharaoh.

33 Stephens 2003: 108–109.

34 2007: 53.

words that also provide an etymology of "paean."[35] With the result that what could have been an aside of a learned narrator has become the voices of the crowd.

In addition to these speakers, this hymn has several non-verbal voices—the weeping Thetis and Niobe, whose lamentations come to a halt at the sounds of Apollo's paean, invite the reader to recall their stories; and in the Cyrene section Apollo (whose voice is not yet heard) is "seen" pointing out the geographic features of pre-settlement Cyrene to his captive bride as they stand on nearby Mt. Myrtussa. From there they watch the Greek male immigrants dancing with the native women at the first *Carneia*. The final vignette shifts the narrative perspective again: we overhear Apollo and Phthonos conversing about poetic preferences, a dialogue occupying the position that in the fifth and sixth hymns brings about the closure of the frame tale. But neither Apollo nor Phthonos are the opening narrator; rather they are analogous to us, the audience of the hymn: having listened they are reacting to what they just experienced. In the context of the hymns as a whole, this early positioning of an uninformed versus informed auditor provides a model of reader response for the whole.

Not all of Callimachus' mimetic hymns are equally ambiguous. In contrast to the narratorial profusion of hy. 2, the hymn to Demeter has one narrator whose voice is steady throughout, and apparently female.[36] Morrison characterizes her as "strongly moralizing, emotional, and judgmental."[37] I think more accurately her prescriptive language marks her as one of the officiants tasked with guaranteeing ritual correctness. At the opening she instructs the female participants to greet the approaching sacred basket, and for the ininitated to avert their eyes; as the hymn closes she directs traffic, instructing various groups where to go:

μέστα τὰ τᾶς πόλιος πρυτανήια τὰς ἀτελέστως,
†τὰς δὲ τελεσφορίας† ποτὶ τὰν θεὸν ἄχρις ὁμαρτεῖν,[38]
αἵτινες ἑξήκοντα κατώτεραι· αἱ δὲ βαρεῖαι,
χἄτις Ἐλειθυίᾳ τείνει χέρα χἄτις ἐν ἄλγει,
ὧς ἅλις, ὡς αὐταῖς ἰθαρὸν γόνυ·

35 103: ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον, ἵει βέλος. Some ancient commentators derived the paean cry as if from ἰὴ ἰὴ παῖ ἰόν, "shoot your arrow, boy," as the gloss ἵει βέλος makes clear.

36 If she is the officiating priestess, then her avatar is Nicippe, the civic priestess whose aspect Demeter assumes to dissuade Erysichthon from deatroying her trees.

37 2007: 173.

38 The textual difficulties with this line are not relevant for my comments.

> As far as the prutaneion of the town, the uninitiated should follow, the initiated (?) up to the goddess (i.e., her shrine), (130) whoever is under sixty. But those who are burdened, whoever reachs out her hand to Eleithyia or who is in pain, as far as her knee is able.

It may be important that in this final hymn of the collection the narrator speaks with an assured voice. While in contrast to the doubt-ridden opening of the first hymn it matches well the certainty that the speaker of hy. 1 assumes by its end—as if the collection begins with a narrator feeling his way but gaining in assurance as the hymns progress. Hy. 6 is the only hymn that ends with the deictic marker proclaiming "this city": χαῖρε θεὰ καὶ τάνδε σάω πόλιν ἔν θ' ὁμονοίᾳ | ἔν τ' εὐηπελίᾳ ("Farewell goddess, and preserve this city in harmony and prosperity.") If the hymns are a group this ending for the collection would fit my initial thesis that by writing hymns Callimachus was co-opting deities for the new city of the Ptolemies.[39]

In contrast to the clarity of hy. 6, the hymn to Athena opens with this rushed set of injunctions:

> Ὅσσαι λωτροχόοι τᾶς Παλλάδος ἔξιτε πᾶσαι,
> ἔξιτε· τᾶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυασσομενᾶν
> τᾶν ἱερᾶν ἐσάκουσα, καὶ ἁ θεὸς εὔτυκος ἕρπεν·
> σοῦσθέ νυν, ὦ ξανθαὶ σοῦσθε Πελασγιάδες.

> As many of you who are bath-pourers of Pallas come out, all, come out. Just now I heard her sacred mares neighing. And the goddess is ready to come. Now hasten, you fair-haired Pelasgian women, hasten.

Is there one speaker who as in hy. 6 is orchestrating events? Not necessarily. Richard Hunter raises the intriguing possibility that these lines may be understood as a polyphony. But if the opening is antiphonal how far does it continue? Are 13–16 also multiple voices? For example, A: "Come O Achaian women, do not bring perfume or alabastra." B: "I hear the sound of axle naves." C. "Bath-bearers, do not bring perfume or alabrastra."[40] Do the multiple voices juxtapose mythological events—Athena's cleansing of her horses after the battle with the Giants and the judgment of Paris—with further instructions on what to bring

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39 Though most modern editors disagree, hy. 6 is the only hymn that the scholiast assigns to Alexandria.

40 Hunter 1992: 15–16.

for the occasion, or is an informed speaker responsible for the mythological details, who then goes on to relate the blinding of Teiresias as a warning to Pelasgian men to refrain from looking at the ritual bathing? Then who is this informed speaker? Is it male or female? Morrison argues for gender ambiguity as a parallel to Athena's own indeterminate sexuality.[41] Yet this is inherently unlikely: the other virgin goddess, Artemis, is none the less female, and in hy. 5 the intertexual links to the *Homeric hymn to Aphrodite* suggest rather that the poet exploits the latent sexuality of Athena's encounter with Teiresias.[42]

The Experiential Context

In hy. 5's opening the commands, exclamations, and questions, with or without inserted answers, are ambiguous precisely because they simulate real time speech: it is impossible to distinguish whether there is one speaker or a chorus of voices because real time speech acts do not avail themselves of the narrative markers that we expect in fiction: "he said," "she said," "now they said" even as temporal markers blur mythic and ritual and narrative time. What is the speaker who says τᾶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυασσομενᾶν | τᾶν ἱερᾶν ἐσάκουσα (5.2) hearing? Critics have pointed to this comment to demonstrate the fictionality of Callimachus' ritual event, because, as Anthony Bulloch claims, the temporal marker ἄρτι would be impossible to coordinate with the real time neighing of horses in a procession.[43] But the detail brings the moment of the carriage's approach to life by prompting an immediate sound for the listener—the horses are not merely described as approaching, they are close enough to be heard neighing, and the attendant mythological details of the sweat and dirt flecked horses guarantees that we can even smell them. (This presence effect would have worked especially well for ancient audiences who were much more familiar with the sounds and smells of animals at rituals than any modern can be.) Whoever the speaker(s), the indefinite aspect of the opening pronoun Ὅσσαι contributes to the impression of individuals milling before the procession properly forms itself, or rushing forward with ritual implements. Even the seemingly inert epithet of ξανθαί contributes to the present moment by introducing colour. Against the sounds and smells of sweating horses the *loutrophoroi* are discouraged from bringing scents—further sensory details

41 Morrison 2005, and see also Vergados, this volume pp. 83–84.

42 Hadjittofi 2008.

43 Bulloch 1985: 5.

that add to the jumble of impressions. In fact the very lack of indications like "she said" operates to immerse the listener (reader) more thoroughly in the moment.

A problem, I think, in discussing the ambiguity that arises from Callimachus' plurality of voices is that much work on Callimachean narrators positions itself consciously or otherwise against archaic lyric, where the standard line of approach has been to tease out the *hinc et nunc* of the original performance as distinct from its textual manifestion.[44] Peter Bing, for example, makes the observation that the blurred line between speaker(s) and audience in the *Hymn to Apollo* may be due to the fact that in archaic lyric who speaks would have been obvious in a real performance context, but when lyric was handed down only in written form to the Alexandrian scholars distinctions of voice disappear. "Could it be that this scholarly encounter with works in which the source of voice was not easy to pin down piqued Callimachus' interest in developing such indeterminacy for aesthetic effect?"[45] In other words ambiguity of voice is a goal in and of itself—a self conscious textual pose that acknowledges its own artifice.

Perhaps. But alternatively we might think of Callimachus' hymns not as exercises in creative ambiguity but as designed precisely to narrate a specific hymnic event, in order to create a textual performance that functions as a recurrence of the event, that captures the familiar sights, sounds, smells, and speakers that a denizen of the ancient world would immediately recognize from his or her own experience of participating in or viewing such events. These might include the hushed anticipation as the divinity's cult statue was readied and brought forward, the ritual opening of temple doors, the neighing and sweating of restive horses, festival participants queueing up in order with their ritual implements, observers jockeying for space in which to watch the procession. As a corollory to this we might also posit that many aspects that modern readers find ambiguous—like who is speaking—might not have confused an ancient reader. To reformulate Bing, who speaks in Callimachus' hymns could have been obvious to its first hearers but when the hymn was handed down to modern readers distinctions of voice disappeared. To give a modern example: if we narrate the speaking voices in a Catholic mass without cues, no one familiar with the ritual would need to be told who is speaking (the officiating priests, the altar attendants, or the participants) or what they are doing as they speak—kneeling, standing, sitting, striking their breasts, yet those who have never

44 Though see Athanassaki 2004: 242–243 for the limits of this approach.

45 Bing 2009: 42.

attended a mass would not know this. Callimachus' choice for mimetic hymns bears this out: the rituals fall into distinctive types—a *Carneia*, a *Plynteria*, and most likely a *Thesmophoria*—the celebration of which would have been familiar to some subset of immigrants to Alexandria, whether from Cyrene or Argos or Athens (where the *Plynteria* was well known); and the worship of Demeter was ubiquitous. The diegetic hymns in contrast narrate the mythic histories that undergird distinct festival occasions: hy. 1 was in all likelihood for the Alexandrian *Basileia*,[46] hy. 3 ends with elements from Artemis' festival at Ephesus, hy. 4 ends with a *Delia* or *Apollonia* on Delos.

If we assume that Callimachus' hymns were not written for a single cultic ritual but to transform the nowness of a necessarily transient event—to freeze it in time—via the medium of the text, then multiplicity of voices acts to produce moments of visceral intensity that capture the experience of actually being present. The production of these aesthetic effects was familiar to ancient critics. Longinus argues that within a narrative (whether Homer or an orator) the shift from the diegetic narrator to a character within his narration, introduction of an agitated speaker without editorial preamble (27.1.9: ἐξαπίνης οὐδὲν προδηλώσας), or the introduction of a variety of persons to suggest shifts in emotion (27.3), is what creates an onslaught of emotion (27.1.3: ἐκβολή τις πάθους), an immediacy that can contribute to a sense of sublimity.

Modern critics have also taken an interest in what Hans Gumbrecht has called "the production of presence," or how the material world is made tangible in texts.[47] In thinking about Callimachus' hymns then this suggests that the key to a deeper understanding of his narratorial strategies is to focus on the materiality of communication within his texts in addition to the more familiar search for meaning.

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46 For a balanced discussion of the evidence see Clauss 1986.

47 Gumbrecht 2004.

CHAPTER 4

Narrative Strategies and Hesiodic Reception in Callimachus' Λουτρὰ Παλλάδος

A. Vergados

In his *Fifth Hymn*, the *Loutra Pallados*, Callimachus ostensibly describes an Argive ritual during which the cult statue of Athena, the *Palladion*, is brought to the river Inachus to be washed.[1] As the participants in this ritual, all of them female, are awaiting the goddess's epiphany, the narrator tells the story of how once upon a time Teiresias accidentally saw Athena bathing.[2] For this he was harshly punished by being blinded, despite the fact that his mother, Chariclo, was the closest of Athena's companions.[3] The benign Athena, however, compensated the Boeotian youth by granting him prophetic powers, longevity, and the retention of his mantic abilities even in the Underworld.

While scholars no longer treat the mimetic frame[4] of this hymn as a faithful document from which to reconstruct the Argive ritual[5] (and in fact the very existence of this ritual has been called into doubt),[6] this poem raises several other important questions, some of which concern such basic issues as the poem's form: unlike the so-called *Homeric Hymns*, which are composed in

1 Cf. the introductory scholion (from Bulloch 1985: 104): ἔν τινι ἡμέρᾳ ὡρισμένῃ ἔθος εἶχον αἱ Ἀργεῖαι γυναῖκες λαμβάνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Διομήδους [καὶ τὸ Διομήδους σάκος Meineke] καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴναχον ποταμὸν κἀκεῖσε ἀπολούειν· ὃ δὴ καὶ λουτρὰ ὠνομάζετο τῆς Παλλάδος.

2 Athena's actual epiphany takes place in the inset narrative about Teiresias rather than in the hymn's mimetic frame, as Henrichs 1993: 144 points out. Morrison 2005: 43–46 discusses the problem of how to represent Athena. Cf. also Hunter and Fuhrer 2002: 160.

3 According to Paus. 2.24.2 the Argive cult implied here is the cult of Athena *oxyderkes* ("sharp-sighted"); MacKay 1962: 28–31.

4 On the idea of "mimetic" hymns, see Fantuzzi 1993 who explores the predecessors in choral lyric; and Falivene 1990 who discusses the various degrees and modes of *mimesis* in Callimachus' hymns on pp. 125–128; further, MacKay 1962: 55–74; Harder 1992; Pretagostini 1991. Bornmann 1991: 38 draws a distinction between "mime" and "mimetic." See also Depew 1993; and Stephens (this volume) p. 52 on the distinction between diegetic and mimetic hymns of Callimachus, who emphasizes the multiplicity of voices in both categories of hymns.

5 So already Legrand 1901: esp. 283–289.

6 Hunter 1992: 13–14.

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dactylic hexameter and which inspired Callimachus' own hymns (along with choral poetry and contemporary cultic hymns), the *Loutra Pallados* is composed in elegiac couplets and its language presents Doric elements.[7] Whereas we would expect the poet to begin by evoking the name of the praised deity depending on a verb of singing, we hear him addressing directly the λωτροχόοι of the goddess.[8] The centrepiece of the poem, the story of Teiresias' blinding, does not really contribute much that would make Athena, the poem's *laudanda*, praiseworthy: what good is there in blinding an innocent youth?[9] Furthermore, are we awaiting the appearance of Athena's cult image? At least that seems to be the goal judging by the Athenian *Plynteria* ritual. But from the way the narrator speaks of the goddess's approach we get the impression that it is Athena's epiphany that is imminent rather than the appearance of her cult statue.[10] This seems to be confirmed by the salutation of the goddess at lines 140–142 that is reminiscent of the ending of the *Homeric Hymns* (χαῖρε, θεά, κάδευ δ' Ἄργεος Ἰναχίω. | χαῖρε καὶ ἐξελάοισα καὶ ἐς πάλιν αὖτις ἐλάσσαις | ἵππως, καὶ Δαναῶν κλᾶρον ἅπαντα σάω "Hail, Goddess! Bless Argos of Inachos. Hail to you, on your way out! Return, driving your horses back again, and preserve entire this land of Danaos").[11] Finally, who is the speaker? Is this a "master of ceremony," as he is often dubbed? If so, given that the ritual is meant to be attended only by women—and we are clearly told so in the ritual command of lines 52–54 (ἀλλά, Πελασγέ, | φράζεο μὴ οὐκ ἐθέλων τὰν βασίλειαν ἴδῃς. | ὅς κεν ἴδῃ γυμνὰν τὰν Παλλάδα τὰν πολιοῦχον, | τὤργος ἐσοψεῖται τοῦτο πανυστάτιον

7 MacKay 1962: 77–81; Bornmann 1991: 37–39. Hunter 1992: 18–19 considers Chariclo's "funeral" lament as somehow connected to the choice of the elegiac metre. For Ambühl 2005: 120 the use of the elegiac meter is a possible link to the *Aitia*; such a link was already suggested by Cameron 1995: 440. See also Bulloch 1985: 31–38 and Hunter and Fuhrer 2002: 148–150.

8 Fantuzzi 1993: 932–933 speaks of an *aprosdoketon* here.

9 Reinsch-Werner 1976: 94 speaks of "an inappropriate myth that emphasizes a raw and cruel characteristics in the goddess' nature," with which the poet wished to take his audience by surprise.

10 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924 II: 14–15 For Bornmann 1991: 45 the reference to oil might suggest that the goddess uses it in her toilette, but it would equally work as part of the process of her statue's κόσμησις or χρῖσις. Cf. also Hutchinson 1988: 33 n. 15.

11 Cf. Kleinknecht 1939: 305–306. Morrison 2005: 34 points out that at the end of the hymn Athena arrives ἀτρεκέως. For Calame 2000: 192–194 Athena's epiphany has a "*caractère … assertorique*." But notice the observation in Hunter 1992: 13 "we will never see the goddess, not only because "we" are men (as opposed to women), but also because the poem ends as she appears (or does she?)." The translations of Callimachus here and below are by Nisetich: 2001.

"But as for you, men of Pelasgia, beware of seeing the queen, even unwillingly. The man who sees Pallas, guardian of cities, naked looks upon this town of Argos for the last time.")—the gender of the *persona loquens* must be feminine. She may be a priestess in charge of Athena's λοοτροχόοι to whom she issues commands. At times, however, we cannot help thinking that the narrator with his interest in aetiology and his learnedness is the same narrator as the one we find in other Callimachean works, whom we could identify with "Callimachus."[12]

These are only some of the questions that have exercised scholars with regard to the fifth hymn. In this chapter, I wish to focus on the central mythical section of the poem and enquire how Callimachus constructs it by adapting earlier mythological narratives in order to tell the story of Teiresias' encounter with Athena, thereby also addressing some of the aforementioned questions. Hesiod's poetry is one of the most important narrative antecedents in this hymn, but, as will be shown, Callimachus does not simply allude to Hesiod. Instead, he enriches the Hesiodic material by combining it with other narratives, in a way that questions the authority of the Hesiodic hypotext.

This attitude towards the Hesiodic antecedent is extremely important since the constellation of details at the opening of the Teiresias narrative are reminiscent of the Hesiodic *Dichterweihe* with all its questions regarding poetic authority. Whereas in Hesiod the epiphany of the Muses leads to the mortal observer's initiation into the art of poetry and (implicitly) to the validation of his poetic programme, in Callimachus this poetic precedent is called into question by being processed or filtered through other narratives regarding Teiresias' blinding. In that way the poet's statement that the story he is about to tell is not his, but is based on the testimonies of others, does double duty. On the surface, it serves to authenticate the story that follows: there are good sources for it.[13] But it has also another effect: it destabilizes the authority of the story's initial and most venerated subtext, Hesiod's *Dichterweihe* narrative in the *Theogony* that had buttressed his own authority. In this way he challenges his predecessor, to whose *Dichterweihe* narrative Callimachus himself alludes at the beginning and end of his *Aitia*. Finally, Callimachus succeeds in teasing his audience's expectations: on account of the Hesiodic opening one would expect a Hesiodic version of the story of Teiresias' blinding (i.e. the narrative of the *Melampodia*). However, this is rejected for the version attributed to Pherecydes. But, as we shall see, Callimachus produces a mythical section in which the *Melampodia* nar-

12 Morrison 2005; *idem* 2007: 160–164.

13 See Ypsilanti 2009: esp. 106–107 on the occurrence of the "οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος" -motif.

rative still resonates with some of the hymn's themes. Callimachus' Teiresias-narrative is both based on respectable sources (i.e. not ἀμάρτυρον) and new.

Teiresias' encounter with Athena is marked by motifs familiar from *Dichterweihe* and epiphany narratives. Callimachus sets the scene of the encounter thus (70–74):

> δή ποκα γὰρ πέπλων λυσαμένα περόνας
> ἵππω ἐπὶ κράνᾳ Ἑλικωνίδι καλὰ ῥεοίσᾳ
> ΛΩΝΤΟ· μεσαμβρινὰ δ' εἶχ' ὄρος ἁσυχία.
> ἀμφότεραι ΛΩΟΝΤΟ, μεσαμβριναὶ δ' ἔσαν ὧραι,
> πολλὰ δ' ἁσυχία τῆνο κατεῖχεν ὄρος.

> Once, then, on Mount Helikon, near the Spring of the Horse the two of them loosed the pins of their robes and started to bathe. The stillness of noon held the mountain. The two of them were bathing together, the hour was noon, a deep stillness held that mountain.

Athena and Teiresias' mother, Chariclo, find themselves at the Hippocrene, where they bathe. The poet takes great pains to present the background in considerable detail. Whereas up to this point in the hymn we have been following the constant movement of Athena and her entourage, from Thespiai to Haliartos, Koroneia, through fields in Boeotia and Athena's grove and altar (ἄλσος and βωμός) by the river Couralios, but also their rejoicing in dances (ὄαροι and χοροστασίαι ἁδεῖαι), this movement comes suddenly to a halt as they reach the Hippocrene spring at Helicon.[14] The movement, the time almost, does not only stop in terms of what is narrated but also in that the same thing is narrated twice: the nymphs and Athena are bathing, it is noon, and peace and quiet prevails in the mountain. This is already stated in line 72, but Callimachus repeats it with amplification in 73–74.[15]

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14 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 20 remarks on the *retardatio* in this passage. See also Bulloch 1985: *ad* 70–84. Calame 2000: 186–187 points out that Thespiae, Haliartos, and Coroneia, some of the places mentioned as frequented by Athena and her entourage, are located at Mt. Helicon.

15 Depew 1994: 410 observes that "repetition of the hour in lines 72 ff. calls attention to the mountain's ominous quiet." For Morrison 2007: 161–162 the repetition at l. 40–41 may be the poet's reaction to the audience's confusion or disbelief. But something similar could be argued for lines 70–74: given that the poet is about to present a novel account of Teiresias' blinding, he is anticipating the audience's questions. Contrast lines 13–17 where the repetition pertains to ritual commands; cf. Kleinknecht 1939: 302 with n. 3.

Callimachus clearly has the beginning of Hesiod's *Theogony* in mind (1–8):[16]

Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ᾽ ἀείδειν,
αἵ θ᾽ **Ἑλικῶνος** ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε,
καί τε περὶ **κρήνην** ἰοειδέα πόσσ᾽ ἁπαλοῖσιν,
ὀρχεῦνται καὶ **βωμὸν** ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος·
καί τε **λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα** Περμησσοῖο
ἠ᾽ **Ἵππου κρήνης** ἠ᾽ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
ἀκροτάτῳ **Ἑλικῶνι** χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο,
καλοὺς ἱμερόεντας, ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.

From the Muses of Helicon let us begin our singing, that haunt Helicon's great and holy mountain, and dance on their soft feet round the violet-dark spring and the altar of the mighty son of Kronos. And when they have bathed their gentle skin in Permessos, or the Horse's Fountain, or holy Olmeios, then on the highest slope of Helicon they make their dances, fair and lovely, stepping lively in time.[17]

There are several correspondences here, which I have put in boldface: both the Muses and Athena with her entourage find themselves at Helicon; both groups dance; both are located beside an altar; and both bathe in the Hippocrene.[18] The new element in Callimachus' hymn is that this encounter occurs at high noon.[19] The Hesiodic narrative, furthermore, is alluded to by Callimachus at the opening of his *Aitia*, albeit in the form of a dream in which Callimachus is transported by the Muses from Libya to Helicon, where he receives instruction from them (*fr.* 2):[20]

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16 Reinsch-Werner 1976: 100–102. Note that the Muses grant Hesiod a θέσπιν ἀοιδήν and the ability to sing τά τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα, just as Teiresias will be granted the gift of prophecy later in the hymn.

17 The translation of Hesiod is from West: 1988.

18 Cf. Haslam 1993: 122 n. 22 for the similarities.

19 Kambylis 1965: 59–61; Bulloch 1985: *ad* 72; MacKay 1962: 38.

20 Cf. Call. *fr.* 2d Harder (= Σ Flor. 15–20; I p. 11 Pfeiffer): ὡς κ]ατ᾽ ὄναρ σ(υμ)μείξας ταῖς Μού[σαις ἐν Ἑ- | λι]κ̣ῶνι εἰλήφοι π(αρ᾽ α)ὐτ(ῶν) τ(ὴν) τ(ῶν) αἰτίων [ἐξήγη- | σιν ἀ]ρ̣τ̣ιγένειο̣ς̣ ὢ̣ν … and *AP* 7.42 (= T 6 Harder = T 27 Pfeiffer). Notice that Teiresias too is described as ἄρτι γένεια | περκάζων (v. 75–76). It does not make any difference in the present argument whether the *Loutra* or the *Aitia* came first, since what matters is the knowledge of this Hesiodic passage. Besides, this question can hardly by answered with any confidence given that one has to reckon with the possibility that the *Aitia* opening may be a later addition or may

ποιμ⌋ένι μῆλα νέμ⌊οντι παρ᾽ ἴχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου
Ἡσιόδ⌋ῳ Μουσέων ἑσμὸ⌊ς ὅτ᾽ ἠντίασεν
μ]ἐν οἱ Χάεος γένεσ̣[
] ἐπὶ πτέρνης ὕδα[
τεύχω⌋ν ὡς ἑτέρῳ τις ἑῷ ⌊κακὸν ἤπατι τεύχει …

> When the Muses swarmed up to Hesiod the shepherd, grazing his flock where the swift horse left its print … [they told him] … of Chaos born … wa]ter [bursting] at heel … and that 'Evil devised against another eats the heart of its deviser …'

While the Hesiodic overtones of this narrative are striking,[21] they should not obscure the fact that Callimachus did not blindly follow Hesiod in his *Aitia*. An example of his creative *aemulatio* comes already in *fr.* 7 of the *Aitia* where it appears that several conflicting views on the parentage of the *Charites* were listed, among which also the Hesiodic one, but without being in any way privileged (οἱ δ᾽ ἕνεκ᾽ Εὐρυνόμη Τιτηνιὰς εἶπαν ἔτικτεν). This should alert us to the possibility that some such departure from the authority of Hesiod might occur also in the *Loutra Pallados*. At any rate, this Hesiodic opening with its allusion to the Hesiodic *Dichterweihe*, as well as its resonance with other similar narratives, would no doubt prime the audience for a positive outcome: a similar initiation scene might follow, not a poetic one but a prophetic; but this should not trouble us given that poet and seer were often linked to each other in ancient thought.[22] Instead, as we soon find out, the young Teiresias is blinded, and Callimachus has been playing with audience expectations.[23]

As Callimachus proclaims, what he sings is not his own invention but the story of others (56 μῦθος δ᾽οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέρων).[24] This prefatory statement

have been revised. On Callimachus' dream, see Kambylis 1965: 69–75 and Harder 2012: II 93–117. The allusion to the Hesiodic *Dichterweihe* is found also in the epilogue to the *Aitia*, *fr.* 112.5–6 … τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτὰ | σὺν̣ μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ᾽ ἴχν[ι]ον ὀξέος ἵππου. For Callimachus' use of Hesiod, see Reinsch-Werner 1976, Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 51–60.

21 That is, the reference to pasturing animals near the Hippocrene; the encounter with the Muses; the reference to Chaos, i.e. *Th.* 116; and the reference to *Op.* 266 (ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη).

22 Cf. Buxton 1980: 27–30; Heath 1988: 82–84.

23 Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 24.

24 Cameron 1995: 439–440; the importance of such disclaimers lies not in the fact that Callimachus advertises the use of sources but that he has used them in an original manner. So already Kleinknecht 1939: 323–324. See also the discussion on Callimachus' "signposting" here in Van Tress 2004: 84–87.

recalls the other famous instantiation of this principle in what is known as *fr.* 612 (ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω). And indeed Callimachus is strictly not inventing a new story here but combining narratives and narrative segments that derive from the work of several predecessors. Already the references to the Argive ritual in the mimetic opening are thought to derive from the *Argolica* of Agias and Derkylos.[25] But the reliance on different sources is even truer for the mythological section that is about to begin.

As Teiresias' blindness is already mentioned in the *Odyssey*[26] and is thematised in tragedy Callimachus could not deviate in this point of the seer's biography. However, the poet had some possibilities to account for the blindness and the acquisition of the prophetic gift.[27] As was mentioned above, the Hesiodic preamble would reasonably lead us to believe that a Hesiodic account of the seer's blindness and initiation into the mantic art would follow. Such a Hesiodic account was given in the *Melampodia*, a poem that in antiquity was attributed to Hesiod.[28] According to that narrative,[29] Teiresias had once seen two snakes mating (in Cyllene or Cithaeron[30]), hit them asunder with his staff (or hit the female snake), and was transformed into a woman. At a later point he saw the same snakes mating again and repeated his previous action (or he hit the male snake this time, or he was told by Apollo's oracle to hit one of them when he saw them mating again), and assumed his original sex. On account of his experiences as both a man and a woman (διὰ τὸ τῶν τρόπων ἀμφοτέρων πεπειρᾶσθαι, Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F 36) he was summoned by Zeus and Hera to decide their dispute on whether the man or the woman derives more pleasure from sexual activity. When he decided in favour of the woman,[31] Hera was angered and deprived him of his eyesight. But Zeus compensated by granting him the gift of prophecy and a long life.

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25 See Bulloch 1985: 16–17. Van Tress 2004: 75–79 discusses the sources of Callimachus' fifth hymn. On scholarship in Callimachus, see e.g. Morrison 2007: 103–104, Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004: 220–231, and 232–238 on strategies of learnedness in Callimachus' *Hymns*.

26 Cf. *Od.* 10.492–493, 12.267.

27 The primary source is [Apollod.] III 70; see Scarpi 1996: 565–566. On the different versions in general see Ugolini 1995: esp. 31–78. There was a legend that whoever saw the *palladion* was blinded: Plu. 309 f. and Létoublon 2010: 172–175. See also Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004: 277–278.

28 Paus. 9.31.5. On the *Melampodia* see Schwartz 1960: 210–228 and Löffler 1963.

29 The various sources are presented in [Hes.] *fr.* 275 M.-W. (= 211a, b Most).

30 Cithaeron is of course important for Callimachus' hymn because that is where Actaeon, the negative *comparandum* in Athena's *consolatio* to Chariclo, will lose his life in tragic circumstances.

31 Frazer 1976 (I): 364 n. 1 for a comprehensive list of sources.

According to another version (transmitted by ps.-Apollodorus), Teiresias was blinded because he revealed the gods' secrets; this of course presupposes that Teiresias already possessed prophetic abilities before he was punished, and his story is strikingly similar to that of another seer, Phineas. But it is Pherecydes' version (*FGrH* 3 F 92a) that Callimachus chose to follow instead of the Hesiodic one:[32]

> Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτὸν τυφλωθῆναι· οὖσαν γὰρ τὴν Χαρικλὼ προσφιλῆ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ... γυμνὴν ἐπὶ πάντα ἰδεῖν, τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην πηρὸν ποιῆσαι, Χαρικλοῦς δὲ δεομένης ἀποκαταστῆσαι πάλιν τὰς ὁράσεις, μὴ δυναμένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τὰς ἀκοὰς διακαθάρασαν πᾶσαν ὀρνίθων φωνὴν ποιῆσαι συνεῖναι, καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι κράνειον, ὃ φέρων ὁμοίως τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐβάδιζεν.
>
> But Pherecydes says that he was blinded by Athena. For Chariclo was dear to Athena (*text missing*) and he saw her naked, and so she covered his eyes with her hands and made him blind. But when Chariclo wanted him to recover his sight again, she was unable to do this, but by cleaning his ears she made him able to understand every sound of the birds; And she gave him a scepter of cornel-wood, and when he carried it, he walked in the same manner as those who see.[33]

According to Pherecydes then Teiresias accidentally saw Athena bathing, whereupon the goddess touched his eyes and made him blind. Chariclo, a dear companion of Athena as in Callimachus, asked for the restoration of her son's eyesight. Athena was not able to perform this but granted him the ability to understand the birds' voices and gave him a scepter with which to walk.

While Callimachus clearly owes much to the Pherecydean account, the comparison of Callimachus' adaptation of his predecessor's version also reveals some differences.[34] Whereas Callimachus makes it explicit that the unfortunate encounter took place in Boeotia, at the Hippocrene, Pherecydes is silent about the exact location (at least in what is transmitted to us).[35] Furthermore, in Pherecydes Athena blinds Teiresias by touching his eyes; that is, she is

32 See Fowler 2013: 400–402.

33 The translation of Pherecydes is from Morison in *Brill's New Jacoby*.

34 Kleinknecht 1939: 325–326.

35 This however is not absolutely certain since there is a *lacuna* in the text of ps.-Apollodorus who transmits Pherecydes. Heyne restored as follows: οὖσαν γὰρ τῇ Χαρικλοῖ προσφιλῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὸν γυμνὴν ἐπιστάντα (ἐπιβάντα) ἰδεῖν. Note that Hesiod's encounter with the

actively involved in the punishment of the youth. In Callimachus, on the contrary, it seems that considerable effort is invested to show that Athena is not directly involved in (and responsible for) Teiresias' punishment. She merely exclaims at lines 80–81 τίς σὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμὼς οὐκέτ' ἀποισόμενον, | ὦ Εὐηρείδα, χαλεπὰν ὁδὸν ἄγαγε δαίμων; The goddess here, it is implied, is to be dissociated from the punishment, and she appears ignorant of the fact that Teiresias would arrive at the Hippocrene. If the evocation of the Cronian Laws is not enough, Callimachus makes his Athena evoke also the irreversible decision of the *Moirai* at lines 103–106.[36]

But this is also not without its problems. Bathing with nymphs is not a regular activity of Athena's. The only other instance of this goddess' association with nymphs is the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 424, where Persephone describes to Demeter that she was picking flowers with the Oceanids, Artemis, and Athena before she was abducted by Hades.[37] Second, this attribution of the event to a δαίμων makes Athena look almost human, just as the epic characters who sometimes attribute an action to a divine being (e.g. *Od.* 9.381). This lack of knowledge, moreover, does not square with the main point of Athena's *consolatio* to Chariclo. In it the goddess compares Chariclo's and Teiresias' fate to that of Actaeon and his parents who will be guilty of the same offense. But Actaeon will face a far crueller fate than Teiresias does now; instead of lamenting, Chariclo should therefore consider herself lucky. If Athena can prophesy the fate of Actaeon, how could she not know that Teiresias was going to appear at the Hippocrene on that day and instead attribute it simply to an impersonal δαίμων?[38]

Muses did not take place at the Hippocrene; rather, the Nymphs, having bathed in the spring, descended to him. Callimachus thus evokes both the Hesiodic hypotext and his interpretation/modification of it; cf. Harder 2012: II 95.

36 This passage is discussed also by Stephens (this volume) pp. 59–60 who points to *Il.* 24.208–210 as an important intertext: these Iliadic lines imply the comparison of Teiresias' blinding with Hector's death and disfigurement, in addition to the comparison of the blinding with Actaeon's fate performed by Athena in her speech.

37 See Richardson ad loc. for other attestations of the same episode (involving Athena) after the *Hymn to Demeter*. The association of Athena with Persephone (and Artemis as a virgin goddess) is attested also in D.S. 5.3.4, who indicates that the area around the river Himeras was sacred to Athena while "the Nymphs, to gratify Athena, caused the hot water springs to gush forth during Heracles' visit." Kleinknecht 1939: 335 detects here Callimachus' strategy to bring Athena closer to Artemis.

38 Note that at 65 Athena is called a *daimon* by the narrator, whereas at 114 Artemis is referred to with this term by Athena. Heyworth 2004: 154–155 identifies the *daimon* of 80–81 with Athena but this need not be so. The problem of Athena's knowledge does nevertheless exist.

And what are we to make of the different punishment the two youths receive for the same "offense"? Finally, in Pherecydes we are told that Chariclo asks for the restoration of her son's eyesight; in Callimachus, however she vehemently complains and laments the fate of her son without asking for restitution. Athena's gifts to Teiresias in Pherecydes are briefly presented as concerning simply another sense: he is deprived of his eyesight but in exchange his hearing is thoroughly purged.[39] Callimachus goes beyond this: Teiresias will become a better *mantis* than everyone else and will be able to distinguish the birds whose flight is meaningful from those that do not mean anything. In this way he will utter several prophecies for Cadmus and the Labdakids.[40] One wonders, knowing the tradition of tragedy of which Callimachus was certainly aware, whether this is truly a blessing—again, could Athena really not know this?[41] In Callimachus, finally, Teiresias will receive a sceptre from Athena, just as in Pherecydes,[42] and will retain his prophetic abilities and consciousness even after his death, after a very long life, and will be honoured by Hades.[43]

It would seem then that Callimachus utterly abandoned Hesiod after the introductory part of his inset narrative on Teiresias and opted for Pherecydes instead. But the situation is more complicated. In Athena's *consolatio* to Chariclo (vv. 107–119) Callimachus returns to Hesiod. This time, however, it is not the *Theogony* or the previously neglected *Melampodia* but the *Catalogue* to which he turns his attention. Pherecydes' account is combined with the account preserved on *P.Oxy* 30.2059, which the first editor, E. Lobel, identified as belonging to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.[44] In that fragment a goddess referred to as αἰγι-

39 This recalls the Melampus story; cf. Σ^{HV} *Od.* 11.290 Μελάμπους δὲ ὁ Ἀμυθάονος ὑπὸ δρακόντων τὰ ὦτα καθαρθείς ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐπακούειν ζῴων …

40 Cf. MacKay 1962: 41 who refers to Kleinknecht 1939: 325. It is important that Chariclo verbally attacks Athena in the hymn instead of asking her to restore her son's eyesight: this makes Athena's generosity uncalled-for, hence greater; cf. Heath 1988: 81.

41 Hunter 1992: 23–24, 27–28 and Heyworth 2004: 153–157 on the tragic background (especially the *Bacchae*). Ypsilanti 2009 explores the echoes of Euripides' *Melanippe* in the *Loutra*. Fantuzzi 1978 detects verbal allusions to Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. And Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 16–17 and MacKay 1962: 61 point out Sophocles' satyr-play *Krisis* as the background of the reference in the *Loutra* to the judgment of Paris.

42 The manuscripts have κυάνεον here. In the *Odyssey* (11.91) Teiresias has a golden sceptre.

43 According to Σ^{T} *Od.* 10.495 Hera granted him (with Persephone's agreement) the retention of his prophetic abilities even after his death.

44 Merkelbach and West do not include this in the fragments of the *Catalogue*, but its place there (= Hirschberger *fr.* 103 = 162 Most) is confirmed by *P.Mich.* Inv. 117v, col. ii 1–6 a mythological dictionary; see Renner 1978: 277–279: Ἀκταίων ὁ Ἀρισταί[ο]υ καὶ Αὐ̣[τονόης, τῶν Σεμέ-] | λης ἐφιέμενος γάμων αυτ[±14] | τὸ πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορο[ς ±6 μετεμορ-] | φώθη

όχοιο Διὸς κούρη μεγάλοιο (probably Athena, although Artemis has also been proposed) consoles Cheiron for the death of his pupil Actaeon.[45] Actaeon had been transformed into a deer and killed by his own hunting dogs for wooing Semele.[46] The argument on which the *consolatio* is based is that Semele will bear a son to Zeus, Dionysus, who will rejoice having the dogs of Actaeon. Callimachus takes the motif of the consolation and adapts it by presenting, in the form of a prophecy, Actaeon's fate as worse than that which befell Teiresias.[47] In adapting this narrative Callimachus also provides a different reason for Actaeon's fate: not the wooing of Semele, who was his maternal aunt and belonged to Zeus, but his having seen Artemis bathing.[48] This, in turn, would present an obstacle to the birth of Dionysus. In other words, Callimachus represents the two Boeotian youths and their "crime" as similar to each other, thereby contrasting their fates even further, while both punishments are "compensated for" in some way: Actaeon's tragic fate is balanced by the birth of Dionysus who will bring joy to humanity and whom Actaeon's hounds will follow (after they are freed from λύσσα); Teiresias' fate is balanced by the gift of prophecy and his longevity.

εἰ[ς] ἐ̣λάφου δόκησιν διὰ̣ βο̣[υλὴν] Ἀ̣ρτέ̣μ̣[ι-] | δος κα̣ὶ̣ διεσπαράσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐ̣[α]υτ[οῦ] κυνῶν, ὥ[ς] | φησ̣ιν Ἡ̣σ̣ίοδ̣ο̣ς̣ ἐν Γυναικῶν̣ Κα[τ]α̣λ̣[ό]γωι̣. This papyrus provides then also the reason for Actaeon's tragic fate, viz. his wooing of Semele. On *P.Oxy*. 30.2509 and Callimachus' *Loutra Pallados*, see Depew 1994; Hirschberg 2004: 393–395.

45 Cheiron's wife was called Chariclo, like Teiresias' mother (cf. Gantz 1993: 145–146), but on the papyrus she is referred to as Ναΐς.

46 This is the offense mentioned also by Acusilaus (*FGrH* 2 F 33), as opposed to that transmitted by [Apollod.], viz. his viewing Artemis bathing; cf. Lacy 1990: 31–33. Haslam 1993: 123 argues against Kleinknecht's view that Callimachus invented the version of the Actaeon myth presented in the *Loutra*: such *ad hoc* invention-adaptation of Actaeon's offense to Teiresias' would not conform to Callimachus' treatment of myth; besides, the role of the hunter better fits Actaeon than Teiresias, who is nowhere else said to be a hunter or to be associated with the Hippocrene (he is linked only with the spring Tilphoussa, near Haliartos, from which he drank shortly before his death).

47 Torres-Guerra 2002 examines this *consolatio* in terms of its generic affiliation.

48 See Heath 1992. Callimachus, in other words, used Pherecydes, whose story itself is a transfer of the Actaeon story to Teiresias. Lacy 1990: 28–30 discusses the paradigmatic function of this myth and argues against the idea that Callimachus invented Actaeon's offense. Heath 1988: 79–80 presents the parallels between the two characters—MacKay 1962: 39 further compares ἔτι μῶνος with 108–109 τὸν μόνον παῖδα, suggesting that both youths are only children—and proposes that Callimachus invented the motive for Actaeon's dismemberment to provide a further parallel to Teiresias' fate; so too Montes Cala 1984: 28. For parallels between Teiresias and Actaeon, see also Kleinknecht 1939: 334–336 and Ambühl 2005: 134–136.

Callimachus then tells a documented story in which he rejects Hesiod's account from the *Melampodia* in favor of the Pherecydean version, embroidered through a Hesiodic account from the *Catalogue* which provides the motif of the consolation that is absent from Pherecydes. By departing from the *Melampodia* Callimachus also chooses an entirely different biography for the seer. He abstains from the story of his sex-changes which might have appeared paradoxical to the audience. One may think of what Callimachus says regarding fictions in his hymn to Zeus: ψευδοίμην, ἀίοντος ἅ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκουήν.[49] The poet opts for a story that is more plausible than the one told by Hesiod in the *Melampodia*.[50] This does not mean of course that Callimachus did not have a taste for paradox, as he composed collections of *paradoxa* himself.[51] In addition, the audience's knowledge of the *Odyssey*, where the old seer appears in Book 11 and grants his prophecies to Odysseus, would have a confirmatory effect on Callimachus' narrative. The story for which Callimachus opted is authenticated since it corresponds to what we know about the seer from Homer's *Odyssey*.[52] Callimachus in other words is creating the prequel to the long tradition involving Teiresias, encompassing the *Odyssey*, Attic tragedy, and the works up to the *Loutra*.[53] Moreover, just as Hesiod's initiation into poetry was marked by the Muses' own song (a theogony such as the one Hesiod was about to compose), so Athena inaugurates Teiresias' career as a seer by uttering a prophecy herself. More importantly, however, Callimachus knew of the *Melampodia* narrative regarding Teiresias' experience as both a man and a woman (cf. *fr.* 576 Pfeiffer), but chose not to use it here—or did he?[54]

Athena's reaction is harsh, and critics have written extensively both about the argument of her *consolatio* of Chariclo and the harshness of her reaction.

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49 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 23 speaks of a story that was unworthy of the august seer.

50 See Morrison 2007: 120–123 on the question of plausibility.

51 See Ziegler 1949: 1140–1141.

52 For an exploration of Callimachus' allusions to the *Odyssey* in the fifth hymn, see Van Tress 2004: 88–96.

53 Ambühl 2005: 107–108. This departure is further highlighted if we take into consideration the entire story of Teiresias as told in the Hesiodic *Melampodia*. In that work, as I have recently argued (Vergados 2013) on the basis of *PSI* 14.1398 and [Hes.] *fr.* 276 M-W (= 212 Most), the seer was deprived of his mantic abilities shortly before his death.

54 See Pfeiffer 1922: 92 n. 2 on Callimachus' varied treatment of the same story in different works. Cf. also MacKay 1962: 52–54. On the contrary, Reinsch-Werner 1976: 99 n. 1 detects no reminiscences of the *Melampodia* narrative in the *Loutra*.

For instance, Michael Haslam has characterized her argument as "sick."[55] Mary Depew furthermore has doubted whether this is a hymn whose "point" is to praise the deity.[56] The fact that Athena does not have a mother may offer an explanation for her argumentation, which does not show any sympathy for the pain Chariclo experiences.[57] Callimachus does not only try to mitigate the harshness of Athena's punishment of Teiresias by claiming that "Athena does not enjoy depriving youths of their eyesight," thus dissociating her from the *Melampodia*'s angry Hera, but actually takes pain to portray her more akin to Zeus, i.e. Teiresias' benefactor in the *Melampodia*. It is Athena who grants Teiresias the gift of prophecy. She grants him also a staff, thus resembling Hesiod's Muses who also bathe in the Hippocrene and grant their protégé a staff, albeit one of laurel.[58] But Athena also appropriates another prerogative of Zeus, his famous nod: Athena is the only one besides Zeus, we are told at 131–136, who can ratify a decision by the nod of her head. Callimachus is the only source for this, and one cannot help thinking that he is again manipulating the tradition. First, Athena who is bathing in the Hippocrene resembles another set of daughters who bathe in the same spring, the Muses, in that she initiates the mortal into a special art (here, prophecy, albeit at a heavy cost), and gives him a sceptre (just as the Muses gave Hesiod a sceptre—there it was the staff that grants authority, here it is described as having a more practical function). What is more, Teiresias' severe punishment is explained as not being Athena's choice but a law of Cronus, which she then goes on to quote, as it were, in 100–102: Κρόνιοι δ' ὧδε λέγοντι νόμοι· | ὅς κέ τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται, | ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῶ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλω.[59] At the same time this is another (general) reference to the *Theogony*'s Succession Myth: by being identified with Zeus, the powerful yet *just* ruler of Hesiod's *Theogony*,

55 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 22 speaks of a *grelles Bild* ("a grim picture"). On Chariclo's and Athena's speeches, see also Hutchinson 1988: 35–36 who emphasizes their "extravagance and artificiality."

56 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 15 doubts whether this poem should be called a hymn. Haslam 1993: 123 observes that we are not supposed to "believe" in the characters of this poem (this includes the gods, of course). See also MacKay 1962: 48–49 and Hunter and Fuhrer 2002: 159.

57 Cf. A. *Eum.* 736–738.

58 Cf. Hes. *Th.* 6, 30–31.

59 See Bulloch 1985: *ad* 101–102 for the legalistic tone here and Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004: 62–63 on the emphasis on divine punishment in hymns 5 and 6, a theme not regularly found in the *Homeric Hymns*, whose antecedents lie in tragedy and the choral poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides. Cf. Reinsch-Werner 1976: 98–99 on the laws of Cronus.

who affirms his promises with a nod of his head and elsewhere grants the poor youth the gift of prophecy, Athena's behaviour is contrasted with Cronus' savagery.[60] As well, in Pherecydes, whom Callimachus follows here, Athena touches Teiresias' eyes with her hands and thus blinds him. It should not cause any surprise that this "law" goes back to Cronus, a savage god who castrated his father and swallowed his children.[61] The references to the *Theogony* that we noticed at the beginning are re-activated now and help present Athena in a better light, as having internalized her father's principles.

There is yet another way in which the rejected narrative of the *Melampodia* may be thought of as present in our *Hymn*. And this takes us back to the question of the status of the narrator's voice that was briefly addressed at the opening of this paper. Teiresias' becoming a seer according to the *Melampodia* narrative (which Callimachus rejects in his hymn) hinges on one particular event in the seer's life: his having assumed the body of both a man and a woman. This is the precondition for which his expert opinion was called for by Zeus and Hera, and it was because of his opinion that he was punished by Hera and rewarded by Zeus. Even though this narrative is rejected as plot structure in the *Loutra Pallados*, its implications are present in our text in an oblique way, reflected in the hybridity of both the goddess praised and the narrative voice.[62]

The combination of masculinity and femininity in Athena's *persona* is emblematized already in one of her first appearances in literature. *Iliad* 5.733–747 is a scene that eloquently captures this dual nature: there Athena puts on a *peplos* which she herself has woven, before donning her armour to enter into battle. This duality is often emphasized in Callimachus' hymn: she is a feminine goddess whom no man can see naked unless at a heavy cost; but this feminine

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60 Cf. the mention of the Gigantomachy at 5–8, a reference to another by-gone era of savagery; Bornmann 1991: 46.

61 Cf. MacKay 1962: 43–44.

62 Haslam 1993: 125 believes (*contra* Bulloch 1985) that the voice is single but not female. For Heath 1988: 87–88 the poet has placed himself into the dramatic situation. See further Vestrheim 2002: 181–182 and *idem* 2012: esp. 48–50 who observes on p. 49 "the voice is ambiguous, this ambiguity also extends to its sex, and it may even (as in the *h.Ap.*) involve also the author's own, biographical person." Further Morrison 2005 and the perceptive remarks in Ambühl 2005: 122–123. On the issue of the polyphony (or fragmentation of the main narrative voice) in Callimachus' hymns, see Fantuzzi 2011 (with particular emphasis on the hymn to Zeus), and Stephens (this volume) 51–53. The ambiguity of the narrating voices in Callimachus' hymns is explored by Stephens (this volume) on pp. 52–53 and on pp. 61–62 where she discusses the blurring of narrative voices brought about by the absence of transitional markers.

goddess does not bathe before she has groomed her horses, not even at the time when she returned, her hands covered with gore, from the battle against the Giants. She does not have any use for feminine unguents and mirrors; for her countenance is always beautiful; she did not use these not even when she competed against Hera and Aphrodite. Instead she uses ἄρσεν … ἔλαιον like male heroes such as Castor and Heracles.[63]

The presence of both masculine and feminine traits has been argued for the hymn's narrative voice as well.[64] This voice has been variously perceived by critics, from unified to incoherent. In the mimetic frame we hear the voice of a "master of ceremonies" directing the λωτροχόοι, asking them to appear out from the temple. Since this ritual may be observed only by women, and the addressees of these commands are female, we shall necessarily have to assume that the speaker directing these Achaean women must also be a female voice. This will also be emphasized by the inset mythical narrative with its two *exempla*, Teiresias and Actaeon, who are punished for seeing a goddess bathing. On the other hand we notice frequent interruptions to these ritual instructions: in lines 5–12 we are told that Athena cared for her horses before herself and she participated in the Gigantomachy; line 17 is a parenthesis informing us about the kind of perfumes Athena despises—but are such statements really necessary for the ritual activity that we are to imagine as going on at the moment? And is it realistic that the ritual instructions during an on-going ritual are interrupted so that we can be informed about the mythological lore surrounding Athena?[65] The same applies to the vignette in lines 17 ff. where the narrative voice tells us of the Judgment of Paris and that Athena,

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63 Morrison 2005: 40–41. Σιστάκου 2005: 66–67 emphasizes the coexistence of masculine and feminine traits in Athena and observes that "the goddess of war is described in masculine terms while the seat *par excellence* of female eroticism, the λαγόνες, is transferred onto the horses (v. 5–6)." [my translation] Brisson 1976: 34 even speaks of Athena's bisexuality, but his view has been countered by Loraux 1989: 259–261, Ugolini 1995: 75.

64 Morrison 2005: 27–28 offers an overview of earlier treatments of the question of voice in Callimachus' *Hymns*. According to Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004: 219 the narrator trades the identity of a master of ceremonies with that of a poet. See also Bing 1995: esp. 34–42 on the importance of the feminized voice in the *Hymn to Demeter*.

65 That is, stories that the worshippers must have already known. But even the ritual commands and rules that are uttered by the "master of ceremony" could not realistically be expected to be performed during the ritual; cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1924: II 14. See further Morrison 2007: 122–123 for the obliquely presented "scholarly" narrator in the hymn to Zeus, who approaches the narrator of the *Aitia*. Note finally that Hunter 1992: 15–16 examines the possibility that these lines are spoken as an aside to the hymn's audience or that lines 2–3 are not spoken by the same person.

contrary to Aphrodite, did not beautify herself, "for her countenance is always beautiful." Again, does this belong in the imagined ritual context? At any rate, we notice here signs of learnedness and research, which we would not expect to be "performed" during the unfolding of a ritual action and may point to a voice similar to that which we find in other Callimachean works. Most of these parentheses are introduced by γάρ[66] and indicate a different kind of narrator who is interested in aetiology (cf. v. 36–42), whom we may relate to "Callimachus," the narrator found in other works as well.[67] While all this does not prove beyond any doubt the presence of a different voice, distinct from the female "master of ceremonies," the clearest sign of the different status of the narrative voice here is in line 56 μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἐμὸς ἀλλ' ἑτέρων, which most distinctly calls to mind Callimachus the scholar of the Mouseion, who conducts research and reports it in his works.[68] (We might also think of the aforementioned ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω.) The narrator in this hymn then has a hybrid voice that combines both feminine and masculine traits, being at times a participant in and director of a *Plynteria*–type ritual and at times a researcher who presents his explanations and even tells a story while the attendants await the arrival of the goddess. This dual status of the narrative voice of this *Hymn* resonates with both the co-presence of masculine and feminine traits in the poem's *laudanda* (Athena) and the dual experience (male and female) of the hero of the hymn's inset character according to the Hesiodic *Melampodia* narrative.[69]

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66 Except the first parenthesis (v. 2) which is presented in asyndeton and redirects our attention from the ongoing ritual to the narrator's scholarly pursuits concerning Athena already at the beginning of the hymn.

67 Hunter 1992: 15–16; Kleinknecht 1939: 346–347.

68 Bornmann 1991: 53 compares with the poet of the *Aitia*. On p. 41 he speaks of "a tension in the mimetic frame between the poet and his imaginary female audience which he can advise and appease, but from which he is excluded precisely because he is a man." Cf. Falivene 1990: 113 on Call. *Hy.* 4.82–85: "La finzione di una *performance* rapsodica si interrompe brevemente, e l'autore-Callimaco si rivela nell'atto di cambiar maschera: questo non è l'io-aedo del resto dell'*Inno*, ma l' io dei primi due libri degli *Aitia*, interlocutore privilegiato delle Muse." Cf. also *eadem* p. 121 on the narrative voice in the *Loutra*. Stephens (this volume) p. 56 speaks of a "collapse" between the intradiegetic speaker and the seemingly extradiegetic narrator in hymns 1 and 2.

69 Morrison 2005: 42: "Although Callimachus, of course, attributes the blinding to Athena, the sexual ambiguity of Teiresias in the other version of the myth is still felt ..." At pp. 38–40 he relates Teiresias' intrusion to the Hippocrene to instances in which a male sexual aggressor intrudes the bath of a goddess or nymph.

A brief comparison with Callimachus' sixth hymn to Demeter, which resembles the *Bath of Pallas* in many respects,[70] can further illuminate the complex status of the fifth hymn's narrative voice. Just as the fifth hymn, the hymn to Demeter is mimetic and plunges its audience into an on-going ritual during which the participating women await the return of Demeter's holy basket (κάλαθος). Ritual commands are likewise issued (3–6) by a speaker who assumes the role of a master of ceremony. At the beginning of the hymn brief reference is made to another story involving Demeter, her search for her daughter (8–16), which is abandoned for a more extensive narrative involving the (justified) punishment of a young man, Erysichthon. With this we may compare the reference to the Gigantomachy of the Judgment of Paris in the fifth hymn. In both poems attention is drawn to the action of story-telling itself (5.55–56; 6.17), while the inset stories fulfill similar functions: the narrator in the sixth hymn explicitly declares that the story of Erysichthon is told as a warning (cf. 22 ἵνα καί τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλέηται), while in the hymn to Athena the story is introduced as an explanation for the ritual prohibition that men not attend the festival of washing Athena's statue (cf. 51–54: "whoever sees Athena naked will lose his eyesight"). But there are important differences as well: in the fifth hymn we have the additional disclaimer by the narrator that the story is attested in other authors (cf. v. 56), whereas in the sixth hymn the inset narrative is introduced as one of several possibilities for story-telling involving Demeter. The audience's attention, however, is not directed to the issue of the story's provenance and sources. The narrating voice of the sixth hymn also appears to be more uniform than in the fifth hymn, and we miss the parenthetic phrases that we encounter at the beginning of the *Loutra Pallados*.[71] While ritual commands and descriptions are found in the mimetic frame as in the fifth hymn, there is no indication that would point to a male, "scholarly" narrator, interested in providing explanations and background knowledge that, if truly delivered, would interrupt the progression of the ritual. We must conclude that in the sixth hymn both the narrator and the bystanders are female.[72]

As we would expect, then, Callimachus' treatment of Hesiod in his fifth hymn is extremely sophisticated. An opening section that through pointed allusions to Hesiod's *Theogony* sets its character in a *Dichterweihe*-type episode prepares the audience for a positive encounter. This initial positive impression might also be reinforced by the association of poetry and prophecy common in

70 For a detailed overview of the similarities between the two *Hymns*, see Hopkinson 1984: 13–17.

71 The only parenthetic phrase is πανίκα νεῖται in v. 7; see Hopkinson ad loc.

72 See Stephens (this volume) p. 56.

ancient literature. In addition, the Hesiodic introduction may prime the audience to expect a version of Teiresias' blinding and initiation into prophecy that adapts the Hesiodic version of the story as told in the *Melampodia*. Instead, Callimachus abandons Hesiod and uses Pherecydes' account, to which, however, he introduces a Hesiodic element drawn from the *Catalogue* rather than the *Melampodia* and presents it as Athena's consolation to the youth's mother.[73] But, the rejected *Melampodia* narrative is implicitly present in two ways: first, through Callimachus' depiction of Athena as combining the functions of both Hera (the angry goddess who blinds Teiresias) and Zeus (the benign god who offers prophecy and longevity in compensation of the blinding, and with whom Callimachus' Athena shares an important characteristic, the affirming nod of the head).[74] And second, the *Melampodia* Teiresias is "insubstantially"[75] present through the use of the central narrative hinge of that version, the twofold existence of Teiresias as a man and a woman, to which corresponds the dual nature of Athena and the dual status of the narrative voice that incorporates both feminine and masculine traits.

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73 Embedded in the inset narrative on Teiresias; see Ambühl 2005: 134, who on pp. 143–145 detects an allusion to Pi. *P*. 9, as well. For an intertexual relationship to tragedy (the *Bacchae*), see Heyworth 2004: 153–157 and especially Ambühl 2005: 145–160. It is particularly ironic that Actaeon's fate is presented as an exemplum to Teiresias and his mother in the hymn, when Cadmus cites Actaeon's grim fate as an exemplum to Pentheus again in front of Teiresias in the *Bacchae* (337–342).

74 A particularly complex intertextual relation to Hesiod is found in the hymn to Zeus; cf. Cuypers 2004, Cusset 2011: esp. 454–465, and Haslam 1993: 121 for an activation of another Hesiodic genealogy in that hymn. On the rejection of Hesiod in Callimachus' hymn to Zeus, see also Stephens (this volume) p. 55 and 63.

75 Cf. Harder 1992.

CHAPTER 5

Time and Place, Narrative and Speech in Philicus, Philodamus and Limenius

E.L. Bowie

My three chosen subjects may seem unlikely bedfellows: two poets whose epigraphically preserved hymns were composed for performance in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, Philodamus of Scarpheia and Limenius of Athens; and composing between them chronologically, but treated before them in my discussion, a scholarly figure from the Alexandrian Pleiad, Philicus of Corcyra, of whose hymn to Demeter a third century BC papyrus preserves 62 lines in various degrees of legibility. Yet their works are all "hymns," and their diversity will cast some light on the difference that can be found between species of the capacious form.

My discussion of Philicus will bring out how prominent speeches seem to have been in his hymn, and how its spatial focus was concentrated on three demes of Attica associated with the cult of Demeter and Persephone, Eleusis, Halimous and above all (I propose) Prospalta, a focus that seems to have been matched by his otherwise surprising choice of Attic dialect for his medium. Philicus' apparent choice of Prospalta for the dramatically presented entry and *rhesis* of the old woman from Halimous, Iambe, may, I suggest, have related to his use of his hymn to offer an alternative explanation for the origins of *aischrologia* in the cult of Demeter and perhaps for its place in Attic comedy.

By contrast the hymns of Philodamus and Limenius, performed and then inscribed for timeless readers in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, sweep their audiences and viewers along on the whirlwind journeys through Greece performed by the *fama* and by the persons of the hymned divinities—Dionysus in the case of Philodamus, Apollo in that of Limenius—journeys that end at the navel of the world where the performance and inscription happens, and in Limenius' poem a journey that is paralleled by the movement from Athens to Delphi of the *Pythais* that performs it. Again by contrast with Philicus, whose poem seems to have had a possibly slender narrative frame within which very substantial aetiological speeches were set, the primary level of utterance chosen by Philodamus is invocation, to which narrative of the god's birth, movements and instructions to mortals is subordinated by a relative pronoun. Limenius has roughly equal proportions of invocation and narrative. Within

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these narratives we never hear unambiguously inset speech, though Philodamus offers some cases where singers of the paean and singers who inhabit his subordinate narrative may be singing from the same hymn sheet.

Philicus

Although Philicus falls chronologically between Philodamus and Limenius, the very different nature of his hymn prompts considering him first.[1] Philicus was a priest of Dionysus in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus and probably an early president of the guild of Dionysiac *technitae*, with whom he marches in the great procession of the penteteric *Ptolemaea* that fell in 279/278 BC, 275/274 BC or 271/270 BC and whose description by Callixeinus of Rhodes is preserved by Athenaeus.[2] As is shown by the metre of fragment 677 *SH* (printed below), his name is Philicus, not Philiscus, the form which is found in the manuscripts of the Suda and is unfortunately printed by Olson in his recent Loeb edition of Athenaeus.[3] The Suda entry suggests that Philicus was chiefly known for the composition of tragedies:

> Φιλίσκος, Κερκυραῖος, Φιλώτου υἱός, τραγικὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου Πτολεμαίου γεγονώς. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ Φιλίσκιον μέτρον προσηγορεύθη, ἐπείπερ αὐτῷ ἐνεδαψιλεύετο. ἔστι δὲ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως τῶν τραγικῶν, οἵτινές εἰσιν ζ' καὶ ἐκλήθησαν Πλειάς. αἱ δὲ τραγωιδίαι αὐτοῦ εἰσι μβ'.
>
> Philiscus of Corcyra, son of Philotas, tragedian and priest of Dionysus active under Ptolemy Philadelphus. And the Philiscian meter was named after him, since he indulged in it liberally. He is among the second group of tragedians, who are seven and were nicknamed the "Pleiad." His tragedies number 42.[4]

1 For careful and perceptive discussions of the poem see Brown 1990; Furley 2009, Giuseppetti 2012. A valuable re-edition of the fragments of Philicus, with introduction and commentary, is offered by Provenzale 2009. I am grateful to Prof. J. Danielewicz for drawing my attention to this thesis. Philicus makes no appearance at all in Bouchon, Brillet-Dubois and Le Meur Weissman 2012.

2 Ath. 5.196a and 198b–c = Callixeinus, *FGrH* 627 F2. On the date cf. Rice 1983: 182–187, Provenzale 2009: 43.

3 Olson 2006: 456 (Ath.5.198b), Suda Φ 358, cf. Snell, *TrGF* 104. On the form of the name see Provenzale 2009: 36–37.

4 The translation is that of Chad Schroeder in the Suda on line. Käppel's figure of 24 in *Brill's New Pauly* s.v. Philicus is presumably a misprint.

It is to Hephaestion, possibly the Hephaestion who was tutor to the Roman emperor Verus[5] and hence was writing his metrical handbook in the middle of the second century AD, that we owe what is certainly the opening line of a hymn specified by the line itself as addressed to Demeter, Persephone and Clymenus. Here by "Clymenus" Philicus means Hades, who received cult under this euphemistic title at Hermione in the Argolid:[6]

> τῆι χθονίηι μυστικὰ Δήμητρί τε καὶ Φερσεφόνηι καὶ Κλυμένωι τὰ δῶρα
>
> PHILICUS fr. 676 *SH*

> To Demeter of the nether world, and Persephone, and Clymenus, the gifts which concern their mysteries

As this line exemplifies, Philicus' hymn was composed in choriambic hexameters catalectic—clever, challenging and innovative,[7] though, as Hephaestion pointed out, not quite so innovative as Philicus implies in another boastful line from the hymn:

> καινογράφου συνθέσεως τῆς Φιλίκου, γραμματικοί, δῶρα φέρω πρὸς ὑμᾶς
>
> PHILICUS fr. 677 *SH*

> I bring gifts to you, philologists, of Philicus' innovatively written composition

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5 SHA *Vita Veri* 2.5. It is just possible (though the chronology is tight) that this is the same as the Hephaestion who wrote *On the withy garland in Anacreon* (περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι λυγίνου στεφάνου), attacked by Democritus in Ath. 673e as having stolen his solution to this problem and also having plagiarised the peripatetic philosopher Adrastus.

6 Φίλικος δὲ ὁ Κερκυραῖος, εἷς ὢν τῆς Πλειάδος, ἑξαμέτρωι συνέθηκεν ὅλον ποίημα "τῆι χθονίηι μυστικὰ Δήμητρί τε καὶ Φερσεφόνηι καὶ Κλυμένωι τὰ δῶρα." τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεται εὑρηκέναι Φίλικος λέγων "καινογράφου συνθέσεως τῆς Φιλίκου, γραμματικοί, δῶρα φέρω πρὸς ὑμᾶς"· ψεύδεται δέ· πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ Σιμμίας ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐχρήσατο "λεύσσετε τὸν γᾶς τε βαθυστέρνου ἄνακτ' Ἀκμονίδαν τ' ἄλλυδις ἑδράσαντα," πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ Φίλικος οὐχ ὡς πρῶτος εὑρηκὼς τὸ μέτρον λέγει, ἀλλ' ὡς πρῶτος τούτωι τῶι μέτρωι τὰ ὅλα ποιήματα γράψας, Hephaestion, *Encheiridion* 9.4 p. 30 Consbruch, on Philicus' use of the choriambic hexameter.

7 If, as Hephaestion thinks possible, Philicus is claiming to be the first to use this metre for a whole poem, this may show that his *Demeter* precedes Callimachus' *Branchus* composed in choriambic pentameters catalectic and opening (fr. 229 Pfeiffer) Δαίμονες εὐυμνότατοι, Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ, Διδύμων γενάρχα. I am grateful to Prof. J. Danielewicz for drawing my attention to the relation between the two poems and between Philicus fr. 2.61 βοτάνη δῶρον, ὀκνηρᾶς ἐλάφου δί̣αιτα and χ̣λ̣ω̣ρὴ̣ν̣ β̣ο̣τ̣άνην νέμ̣ο̣ι̣τ̣ο̣ in Call. fr. 229.4.

Part of this line is said by the scholiast on Hephaestion to have been in Philicus' *prooemium*,[8] and though Richard Stoneman has suggested that it might be from the end of the poem,[9] I incline to accept the scholiast, and to reflect that Hephaestion may well not have made his way very far into a text that will have been distinctly rebarbative even when it was complete. Fr. 677 *SH*, then, should come later in the *prooemium*, which in that case would tell us that this *prooemium* was not just a one-liner, but something more substantial.

We have no idea, I believe, how long the poem was, but it is improbable that it exceeded the 495 lines of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which Philicus certainly knew,[10] and it may have been nearer in length to the 326 lines of Callimachus' hymn to Delos. It seems likely from Philicus' giving Hades the name Κλύμενος that Philicus knew, and may have expected some readers to know, the hymn of Lasus to Demeter as she was worshipped in his own city Hermione, beginning:

> Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον
> Μελιβοίαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων
> Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν
>
> LASUS *PMG* 702 Page[11]

> I dance and sing Demeter and her Daughter, wife of Clymenus,
> Meliboea, raising up a hymn
> in the deep-booming Aeolian harmony.

One of several possible reasons for Lasus' hymn catching the eye of Philicus might have been that it was asigmatic, as Heraclides Ponticus had pointed out three generations earlier.[12] But Philicus had quite enough to contend with in the straitjacket of choriambic hexameters, and he did not emulate Lasus'

8 Schol. ACD to p. 31.1 (p. 140.14).

9 Cited by *SH* p. 321. Accepted by Giuseppetti 2012: 117 (with doxography in n. 64).

10 Richardson 1974: 70 with n. 4.

11 Quoted by Ath. 14.624e–f and (the first line only) 10.455c. For the cult see Prauscello 2013, and for Callimachus' use of the *epiclesis* Clymenus in *Hecale* fr. 285 Pfeiffer = 100 Hollis see Giuseppetti 2011.

12 Ath. 10.455c, cf. Eustathius *Il.* 1335.52. For retaining the manuscript reading Μελιβοίαν (as against Hartung's emendation to μελιβόαν, "honey-voiced") and for a persuasive argument for the likelihood of an *epiclesis* Meliboea in the chthonic cult of Demeter and Persephone at Hermione see Prauscello 2011.

asigmatism. Nor could he have begun with a straightforward use of Lasus' performative term μέλπω, which comprises both singing and dancing, since it is virtually certain that Philicus did not intend his hymn for dancing, or even for singing, but rather for reading by the "scholars," γραμματικοί, to whom his *prooemium* says it is a gift—though of course he could have used the word μέλπω to contribute to the mimetic fiction that his poem was being performed, in a manner analogous to that of Callimachus in *Hymns* 2 and 5.

So much by way of contextualisation. I now print what is essentially the text of *Supplementum Hellenisticum* fr. 680 with a very select set of textual points in footnotes and some improvements suggested by William Furley.[13] I have not re-examined the papyrus, but have consulted the photograph in Provenzale 2009: 138; Provenzale's apparatus offers all readings and conjectures known to her, but since she and Furley 2009 were published in the same year neither was able to benefit from the other.

fr. 678 *SH* (papyrus fr. 1)	].χρηṿ[
(= fr. 3 Provenzale)	
fr. 679 *SH* (papyrus fr. 2)	]ρσ. [
(= fr. 4 Provenzale)	]σανη.[
	]ταιναρ..[
fr. 680 *SH* (papyrus fr. 3)	]νδẹ θυγατ̣ρὸς [
(= fr. 5 Provenzale)	[μη]τέρα[14] παῖς οὐκ[
[	ἅρμ]α̣ κ̣ατειλισσομέ[νων δρακόντων[15]
[	]π̣ο̣υ δὲ μετήλλα[ξε[16]
[	ἁρπ]άσ̣ματα ληιστὴν . ν̣[
[	] λαμπάδας ὑληδ.[
[	]ὥς τε χιτὼν ἀμπ[εχόνη[17]
[	]α̣σα δὲ τουσ̣ ε̣ξα.[[18]
[	]τῶιδε κόρη[.] .ψα[19]

13 Furley 2009.

14 μη]τέρα Vogliano.

15 Furley 2009 *exempli gratia*, cf. *h Orph.* 40.13.

16 μετήλλα[ξε Körte 1931.

17 ὥς τε Körte 1931; ἀμπ[εχόνη Furley 2009.

18 ᾄσ]ασα δὲ τοὺς ἐξαμ[έτρους στενάζει Gallavotti 1931.

19 τῶιδε Furley 2009.

[ ]α τύχην οὔτε γάμ̣[ους[20]
[ ].ματος εἰπεῖν ἀναλυ[
[ ]. σ̣ην οὐρανὸν ἐνδε[
[ ] ἀλύο̣υ̣σ̣[α] δρο̣μ̣ο̣υ[
[ ]νιδαι το̣ιάδ’ ἔπη̣[
[π]ο̣δ̣ε̣ς οὐκ εἴδ̣[ε]τ̣ε̣[
[ ]ε[..]ο ημ ... γ
[ ].ν[.]μοι τ̣ε̣[

fr. 4 col. i]νυ.[
[ ]ο χανοῦσ̣[
[σ]υ̣μμ[ιγ]ε̣[ς] ἔρριπτο χύδ[ην
[ ]μασι θερμὴ δ’ ἐπέκαεν α[ὐγή[21]
[ ]δε μύθου προλαβοῦσα θ̣[εά
[ν]ικηφόρον οἰωνὸν ἔκρινον [
κλ]υ̣θι λιτὰς μητρόθεν αὐταδέλφους
[ ]ι̣ς ὁμόσπλαγχνον ἔθρεψα κύπριν
[ποθ]ε̣ινὴ γάλα σοι, μητρὶ δ’ ἐγὼ σύναιμος
[μ]εγάλας κοινοπάτωρ λοχεύει
[μεγ]άλαυχόν τε βίαν ἔτικτεν
[ ]μοιριδία πρᾶσις,[22] ἐμοὶ δὲ πείθειν
[τούτ]ο̣υ[23] μετέχειν, μηδὲ μόνημ με τοὐμόν

fr. 4 col.ii+fr.5] ... εις ἀ̣π̣ιθ̣ήσασα[24] λόγοις, αἱ δὲ θεαὶ σ̣ε κ̣[
[γ]ὰρ ἐσ[ηγ]γε̣λ̣μεθα τιμὴν μί’ ἐγὼ σὺγ Χάρ[ισιν] σ̣τ̣ε̣λ̣ο̣[ῦσαι
[διέ]σ̣χιστο μ̣έ̣ν,[25] ἄλλας δὲ σὺ τιμὰς ἀνελοῦ π̣α̣ρ’ ἡμῶν
[ ]α̣ καὶ μ̣[εί]ζο̣ν̣ας ἀντ’ οὐ μεγάλης, ἃς διελοῦσα λέξω.
[οὐδενὶ μὲν γὰρ πλέον] ἢ σοὶ δ̣ά̣σετ̣α̣ι̣ τις φίλος, α⟨ἰ⟩εὶ δὲ πλέον φιλήσω
[ ]ν̣ ὥρα̣σ̣ιν̣ Ἐ̣λ̣ευσῖνάδε[26] μυστηλασίαις ἰάκχων
[ ]τε π̣ο̣λ̣λ̣[ὴ] π̣ολὺν ἐγδεξαμένη τὸμ παρὰ κῦμα νη̣σ̣τη̣ν̣

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20 γάμ̣[ους Gallavotti 1951.

21 α[ὐγή Furley 2009, ἀ[γρούς Gallavotti 1951.

22 The papyrus has κτησις with the correction πρασις written above the line. Lobel (reported by Gallavotti) conjectured πᾶσις.

23 τούτ]ο̣υ Körte 1931.

24 εις ἀπιθήσασα Körte 1931.

25 διέ]σ̣χιστο μ̣έ̣ν̣ Furley 2009.

26 Or, as Norsa observed, Ἐ̣λ̣ευσῖνα δὲ.

38 [ ]μ̣η̣τ̣ι̣ μυ[ρ]η̣ρούς, τροφίμη, σοι λιπανοῦσι κλῶνας
[ ]λ̣[.]ς̣ δι̣χ[α] κ̣ρ̣η̣ναῖον ἑκάστης ἓν ὕδωρ ὁρισθέν
[το]υ̣τ̣ου δ[ιθρό]ν̣ου[27] σοῖς προσανήσεις δακρύοισι πηγήν
[κα]λεῖ̣ται βασ[ί]λεια κρήνη
[τῶ]νδε λόγων τείσομεν ἔργα κρείσσω
[πρὶ]ν ἐλέγξαι προλαβεῖν ἀπ[ί]στους
[κλάδ]ο̣ν ἱκτῆρα φέρουσι μὲν νῦν
45 [ ] .. δε πάλιν χέονται
[θ]υ̣ομένην[28] σῆι τελετὴν ἑορτῆι
[ ]ζ̣ηλοτύπωι κρατῆσαι
[ἀλλ’ αἰρομένη σκ]ηπ̣τρον[29] ἄγου Φερσεφόνην ὑπ’ ἄσ̣τ̣ρ̣α
[ ] . δ̣ε̣σιν ἡγησαμένης οὐθὲν ἐμοῦ σφαλήσει
50 α̣[ ]υ̣ πεύκας ἀνελοῦ, λῦε βαρεῖαν ὀφρύν.
ἡ μὲν [ἔ]ληγεν·[σ]υ̣ν̣έ̣φ[ήπτοντ]ο̣[30] δ̣ὲ Νύμφαι τε δικαίας Χάρι̣τ̣έ̣ς τε πειθοῦς
πᾶς δὲ γυναικῶν ἀ[νάριθμός τε π]εριξ[31] θ’ ἑσμὸς ἐθώπευσε πέδον μετώποις
φυλλοβολῆσαι δ[ὲ] θ̣εὰν̣ [χερσ]ὶ[ν ἀ]ν̣έσχον[32] τὰ μόνα ζώφυτα γῆς ἀκ̣άρπου,
54 τὴν δὲ γεραιὰν παρ[άπλαγ]τον μὲν ὀρείοις Ἁλιμοῦς ἤθεσι, καιρίαν δέ,
ἔ̣κ τινος ἔστειλε τύχ[ης· τοῖσι δὲ][33] σεμνοῖς ὁ γελοῖος λόγος ἆρ’ ἀκερδή⟨ς⟩;
σ̣τᾶσα γὰρ ἐφθέγξατ’[ἄφαρ θα]ρ̣σ̣αλέον καὶ μέγα· μὴ βάλλετε χόρτον αἰγῶν,
οὐ τόδε πεινῶντι θεῶ̣ι̣ [φάρ]μ̣α̣κον, ἀλλ’ ἀμβροσία γαστρὸς ἔρεισμα λεπτῆς.
καὶ σὺ δὲ τῆς Ἀτθίδος, ὦ δα̣[ῖμ]ο̣ν, Ἰάμβης ἐπάκουσον βραχύ μού τι κέρδος·
εἰμὶ δ’ ἀπαίδευτα χέα[σ’ ὡς ἄ]ν̣[34] ἀ̣π̣οικοῦσα λάλος δημότις· αἱ θεαὶ μέν
αιδεθε[..][35]σοι κύλικας κα̣[ὶ τελ]έ̣σ̣αι σ̣τ̣έ̣μ̣ματα καὶ [β]απτὸν ὕδω[ρ]ἐν ὑγρῶι̣
61 ἐγ δὲ γυναικῶν π̣[έλεται], ἥ̣ν̣,[36] βοτάνη δῶρον, ὀκνηρᾶς ἐλάφου δί̣αιτα,
οὐθὲν ἐμοὶ τῶνδε [μέτεστιν][37] γέ̣ρα̣ς̣ . ἀλλ’ εἰ χαλάσε̣ι̣ς̣ π[έ]νθος ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω

27 το]ύ̣τ̣ου δ[ιθρό]ν̣ου Furley 2009.
28 θ]υ̣ομένην Furley 2009.
29 ἀλλ’ αἰρομένη Furley 2009; σκ]ῆπτρον Körte 1931.
30 [σ]υν̣έ̣φ[ήπτοντ] Furley 2009.
31 ἀ[νάριθμός τε π] Furley 2009.
32 [χερσ]ὶ[ν Furley 2009; ἀ]ν̣έσχον Gallavotti 1951.
33 [καί ποτε] Furley 2009.
34 εἶμι δ’ ἀπαίδευτα χέα[ι πολλὸ]ν ἀποικοῦσ’ Latte 1954; δαρ]ο̣ν̣ Furley 2009.
35 αἴδ’ ἔθεσαν Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983, but Provenzale 2009: 27 denies that σα can be read.
36 ἥ̣ν̣ Furley 2009.
37 μέτεστιν Furley 2009 following Vogliano.

fr. 3
]this of the daughter[
mot]her child not[
chariot of] writhing [snakes
]and where (she?) has gone away to[
clo?]thes predator
]torches wood[
like a] tunic her [wrap
] ……….[
] to him the girl[
] fortune nor marr[iage
] to speak[
] heaven [
] wandering at a run[
] words such as these[
f]eet; did you not see[
……
] to me [

fr. 4 col. i
] … [
] gaping[
]was thrown without order[
]and the hot beam was burning upon[
]and the g[oddess], beginning to speak first,[
]I judged it an omen of victory[
list]en to prayers that are from a sister from the same mother
]in the same womb I nurtured Cypris
I was desir]able [when I gave my] milk to you, and I, of the same stock as your mother
us?]mighty ladies a common father begat
]and she gave birth to mighty-boasting violence
]a destined possession; and for me to persuade
]to have a share in this, and not from me alone my[

fr. 4 col. ii + fr. 5
]not failing to hearken to these words, and the goddesses[will reward?] you
]for we, I alone, with the Graces, have been announced as to give honour[
]have been apportioned, but you should accept other honours from us
]and greater ones in return for what is a small one—these I shall tell you in detail.
[for to none will] a friend accord [more] than to you, and I shall love more and more
in the season(?) to Eleusis with the mystic coursings of the Iacchoi

large [ ] welcoming the faster by the wave in large numbers
they] will swell out for you, nurturing one, perfumed branches
]a single fountain water marked out for each
[by] this two-throned [precinct] with your tears you will send up a spring
will be ca]lled the royal fountain
]than these words we shall accord in honour more powerful deeds
]do not prematurely take them as untrustworthy before testing
the branches]of supplication they bear now
th]ese again will pour forth
to be perfor]med as a ritual at your festival
]zealous … overcome
[taking up the sceptre] bring Persephone up to where there are stars
]with me leading you shall not go wrong at all.
but] pick up the torches, relax your heavy brow."
She ceased, and the Nymphs and Graces [joined in] just Persuasion,
and whole swarm of women in a circle about her caressed the ground with their foreheads
and gathered the only living growth from the cropless earth to cast as foliage upon the goddess
But Halimous despatched the old woman, who had lost her way in the mountain haunts, but arrived at a good time
as a result of some chance: for solemn occasions can an amusing tale be unprofitable?[38]
For she stood and uttered at once in a bold, loud voice: "Do not throw goat-fodder:
it is not this that is [a remedy] for a starving god, but ambrosia is the support for such a delicate stomach.
But you, divine one, should give ear to Attic Iambe's little benefit;
I am one who has poured out unschooled words, as well might a chatterer living in a distant deme: these goddesses
here [ ]for you cups and garlands and water drawn in a fresh stream;
and from the women, look!, there is grass as a gift, a timorous deer's diet.
None of these things do I have for my gift: but if you loosen up your grieving, then I shall release …"

38 In favour of taking σεμνοῖς as referring not to people but to occasions or modes of speech see Fantuzzi 2007: 63, also suggesting attractively that this is a meta-literary reference to the serio-comic texture of Philicus' *Demeter* (noticed, he argues, by the composer of the epigram on Philicus 980 *SH* = *P.Hamburg* 312 recto = Provenzale 2009 *test.* 7). I am less confident than he, however, that the lost lines contained *aischrologia* too shocking to be found in a high-style poem.

Given that so much of this poem is lost and that so many surviving lines are fragmentary, it would be unwise to offer negative statements of the form "Philicus did not …." Thus we should not press the fact that in what is preserved we have no attempt closely to tie the hymn to even a fictional performance context, nor anything that is unambiguously a narrative of Persephone's abduction.[39] One might guess that there was indeed such a narrative, and that some move was made to set it in mythic time, but it can only be a guess, and for all we know such events could have been narrated not in the poet's voice but in yet another character speech. Equally one might wish to guess that Philicus did not in fact build in any link, near the beginning of the hymn or elsewhere, to a particular festival in a specific place at a particular time of year, but again this would be a guess, and it might be quite wrong.

What is undeniable is that in the surviving portion there are only two sequences of narrative, one of them at least short. The very lacunose fr. 680 lines 1–21 may indeed be narrative in the poet's voice, a narrative of Demeter's searching for Persephone (cf. ἀλύουσα line 13) and of the dire ecological consequences of her bitterness (line 21, θερμὴ δ' ἐπέκαεν α[ὐγή); but our remains are too fragmentary to exclude the possibility that some of this narrative is within a character's speech. Certainly at line 22 a female character is described as beginning to speak (μύθου προλαβοῦσα) and her long speech, aetiologically predicting cult of Demeter, only ends 29 lines later at line 51 (ἡ μὲν [ἔ]ληγεν ..).[40] Five and a half lines then narrate the placatory response of nymphs and mortal women and the timely arrival from the deme Halimous of Iambe, an old woman. In the middle of line 56 she shouts brusquely, perhaps even boorishly, dismissing the nymphs' and womens' offering of, perhaps, dry twigs (κλῶνας?) and announcing that she has something to help matters. The papyrus breaks off before we discover just what her remedy was, but presumably it was both entertaining and in some way related to ritual *aeschrologia*.

In the lines that we have, then, fragmentary and constituting an uncertain proportion of the poem, speech dominates; it is the principal means of conveying aetiological data and of putting flesh on the poem's skeleton.

How attentive was Philicus to evocation of place? Full knowledge of the poem, especially of the parts before what survives, would almost certainly allow a more confident answer. But I note that his specification of Halimous as the

39 ταιναρ..[at fr. 679.3 may be a reference to Taenarum as an entrance to the underworld, but we cannot be sure it was actually part of an abduction-narrative.

40 For the problems in identifying this speaker see Gallavotti 1931 (Demeter); Körte 1931 and Gallavotti 1951 (Peitho); Page 1941: 405 (Dione); Latte 1954 (Tethys); Brown 1990: 181–183 (Rhea); Furley 2009 (Aphrodite).

deme of Iambe shows Philicus keen to provide some topographical detail. If we accept Stoneman's attractive supplement in 54 πα[ράπλαγ]τον μὲν ὀρείοις … ἤθεσι, "who had strayed from her path in mountain haunts,"[41] then we can avoid the improbability that the scholar Philicus, working in Alexandria but originating in the Greek island of Corcyra, was unaware that the Attic deme Halimous was on the coast.[42] But we still have to explain why Iambe found herself in the hills at all. Her origin in Halimous presumably associated her with the cult of Demeter and Persephone which is registered there by Pausanias (1.31.1, printed below): but what is the geographical setting of the poem's action to which chance so opportunely brings her? That setting cannot plausibly be either Eleusis (as seems to be assumed by most scholars)[43] or Athens itself, each of which Iambe could quite easily reach from Halimous without straying into mountains (though admittedly if she were on her way from Halimous to Eleusis she might, if impatient or injudicious, attempt to cut across the hill near Perama). But scholars looking at Pausanias seem not to have noticed that precisely the same section of his book on Attica also records another Attic cult of Demeter and Kore, in the deme Prospalta, situated south of present-day Markopoulo at Kalyvia Kouvarà, now called Kalyvia Thorikou:[44]

> δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθείς, τάδε ἐς μνήμην παρείχοντο· Ἁλιμουσίοις ⟨μὲν⟩ Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστῆρι ⟨δὲ⟩ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητὼ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὔ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα ὡς τεξομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Προσπαλτίοις δέ ἐστι καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν, Ἀναγυρασίοις δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν.
>
> PAUS. 1.31.1

41 Printed in her text by Provenzale 2009: her apparatus (p. 25) presents other possibilities, discussed in her commentary (p. 114).

42 Furley 2009: 494–495 unfortunately misreports my Lampeter paper as having proposed that Philicus' knowledge of Attic geography was "decidedly faulty."

43 E.g. Körte 1931: 449; Page 1941: 404 (by implication in his phrase "Eleusinian mysteries"); Latte 1954: 12 ("Immerhin muß man annehmen, daß Ort der folgenden Handlung (Eleusis) und die Situation der schweigenden Demeter mit genügender Deutlichkeit vorher angegeben war"); Provenzale 2009: 90–100; Giuseppetti 2012: 120–121.

44 There remains some uncertainty about the deme centre's precise location, cf. Humphreys 2007: 65.

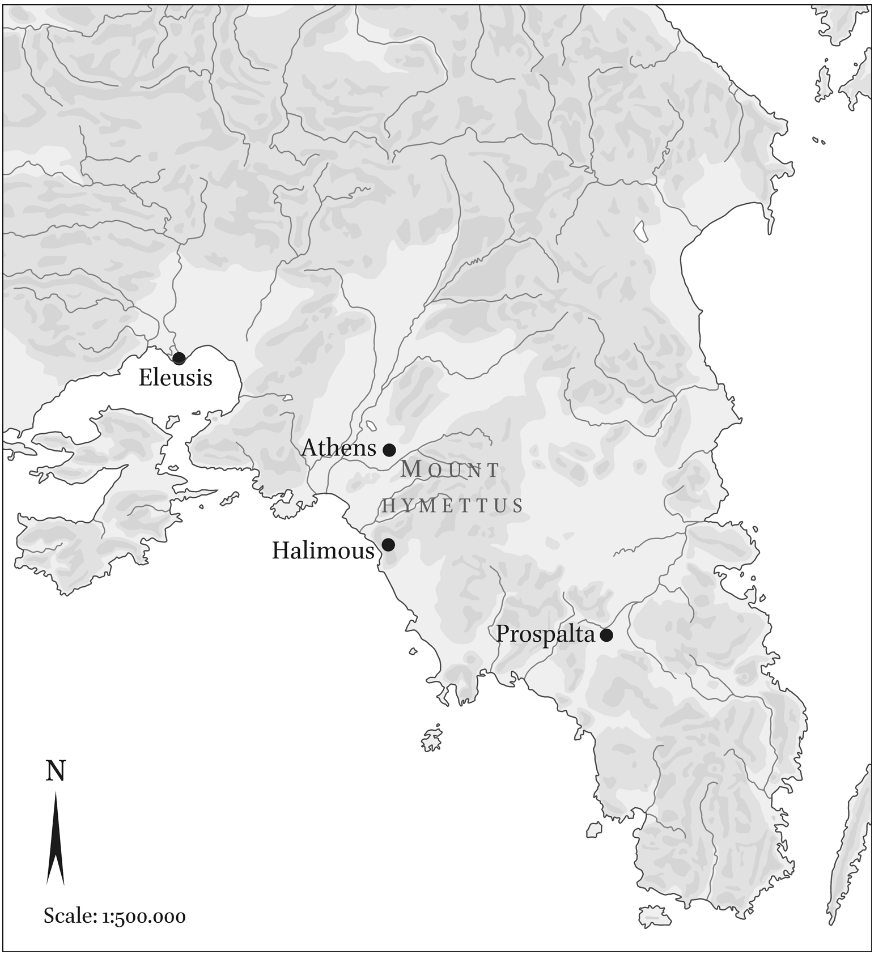

FIG. 5.1 *Map of Attica showing the location of Eleusis, Halimous and Prospalta*

> The small demes of Attica, each founded in its own way, offered the following for the record. The people of Halimous have a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore; and at Zoster on the sea there is also an altar of Athena, Apollo, Artemis and Leto. That Leto gave birth to her children here is not what they claim, but that she loosened her girdle in order to give birth, and that the place got its name because of this.
>
> As for the Prospaltians, they too have a sanctuary of Kore and Demeter, and the people of Anagyrous a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods.

To reach Prospalta from Halimous without a long detour a traveller would have to climb over the shoulder of Mount Hymettus: the ridge of Hymettus runs

north-south, coming ever closer to the coast, right the way down to Cape Zoster, and becoming lower the further south it goes: it only becomes low enough for a relatively easy crossing to the Mesogeia at Halae Aexonides, where the current motor road climbs over from Voula, south-east of Glyphada, towards Markopoulo and the new airport. Recently a tunnel was contemplated further north to take traffic inland from near Halimous, but it was never built. So a necessarily hilly journey from Halimous to Prospalta could well explain Iambe's mountain aberration. Did Philicus, then, set his story in the deme Prospalta, and had it some connection with the cult of Demeter and Kore there?

One further point in favour of Philicus having located the encounter with Iambe in some deme other than Eleusis is the mismatch between the topographical details of his poem and what we know of the topography of Eleusis.[45] Philicus seem to specify two springs, πηγαί, one associated with Demeter, one with Persephone (39–40) and one of these will be called "the royal spring," κα]λεῖ̣ται βασ[ί]λεια κρήνη (41). At Eleusis there was a Παρθένιον φρέαρ, "Maiden's well," by which Demeter sat when she reached Eleusis (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 99), and some scholars think it is the same well as is called "Fair dances," Καλλίχορος or Καλλίχορον, at *Dem.* 272.[46] The term φρέαρ does not appear in our fragments of Philicus' hymn, and the *Homeric Hymn's* φρέαρ was already there when Demeter arrived, and so was not the product of her tears. Nor is it attractive to identify Philicus' two springs with the two salt-water channels at Eleusis called Ῥειτοί mentioned by Pausanias:[47] each of these was indeed linked with Demeter and Persephone respectively, but there is an important difference between a spring and a salt-water channel. I conclude that there is some case for thinking that Philicus located the encounter with Iambe not at Eleusis but at Prospalta. Certainly lines 35–37 refer to rituals performed at Eleusis. But I propose that in the lacunose beginning of line 38 the speaker's promises shifted to what would be established at Prospalta: that shift could have been briefly indicated by a "(but) here."

45 I am very grateful to Richard Seaford for pointing this out to me and for discussing the whole issue.

46 See Richardson 1974: 326–328.

47 Paus. 1.38.1, cf. Th. 2.19.2, Hsch. s.v. This identification of the κρηναῖον ... ὕδωρ (39) was suggested by Latte 1954: 16 and followed tentatively by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: 326, who wondered if the springs of lines 40 and 41 were the same or were Parthenius, Callichorus, or Anthius; Furley 2009: 493 takes the κρηναῖον ... ὕδωρ (39) to be the Ῥειτοί and the πηγή created by Demeter's tears perhaps to be the "Maiden's well" of *Dem.* 99.

If this were so, then it is tempting to suppose that there is a link with the chorus of what seems to have been Eupolis' first play, *Prospaltioi*, whose choice of Prospaltians for his first comic chorus rightly seemed puzzling to Ian Storey. Storey speculated that Eupolis' choice of *Prospaltioi* was because Prospalta was his own deme.[48] That is possible: we have as yet no hard evidence on which was Eupolis' deme. But those who accept my argument about the relation between the fictional dramatic character Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and the real comic poet Eupolis will suppose it to have been Cholleidae.[49] If that is so, there must have been another reason why Eupolis chose the deme Prospalta to provide the chorus of his first play. A local tradition of iambic *aischrologia* would not be a bad explanation—an explanation which invites the question (currently unanswerable) whether Philicus' poem was a voyage into Attic dramatic as well as Attic religious history, a poem that offered an unconventional view of the mythical origins of comedy and its generic *aischrologia*.[50] Such an agenda in his *Demeter* would also make especially pointful his strongly dramatic construction of the poem: speeches, characters interacting, and apparently very little narrative—just what one might expect from a poet whose principal compositions were tragedies.[51] It looks as if a full text of Philicus' *Demeter* might have been just as interesting and playfully allusive as Callimachus' hymns, *Aetia* and similarly Attic *Hecale*,[52] and we might won-

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48 Storey 2003: 53: "we must conclude that Eupolis' deme is not known for certain; much would be explained if it were Prospalta"; 239: "All in all it seems an out-of-the-way and not especially prominent deme to have supplied a comic chorus, unless it were Eupolis' own deme. What would be so distinctive or funny about it, unless the humour lies in the 'backwoods' nature of the people?" My hypothesis offers an answer to this question.

49 Bowie 1988, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 408 Δικαιόπολις καλεῖ σε Χολλεΐδης ἐγώ.

50 Brown 1990: 187 with n. 3 notes the scholion on Ar. *Thesm.* 86 δεκάτηι (sc. Πυανεψίωνος) ἐν Ἁλιμοῦντι Θεσμοφόρια ἄγεται, and the evidence of [Apollodorus] *Bibl.* 1.5.1 that Iambe was an *aition* for *aischrologia* at the *Thesmophoria*; he seems to conclude that Philicus is offering an *aition* for the *Thesmophoria* at Halimous.

51 Nicholas Richardson has pointed out to me that there were other places in Attica with cults of Demeter and Persephone, and that it might be wrong to privilege Prospalta. The coincidence of Prospalta's separation from Halimous by mountainous territory and its choice by Eupolis for his *Prospaltians* seems to me nevertheless to make this deme an especially strong candidate.

52 Prof. J. Danielewicz kindly allows me to mention some possible allusions he has noticed: μὴ βάλλετε χόρτον αἰγῶν (54) to μὴ βάλλετε, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* 3.82); γαστρὸς ἔρεισμα λεπτῆς (55) to Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι (Pi. fr. 76.3 S-M); and (comically) ἐλάφου δίαιτα (61) to the technical δίαιτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων of the Hippocratic *Aër.* 1.19.

der whether the wanderings of Iambe on remote mountain paths or the pure springs of Demeter's tears had a self-referential metapoetic function within this undoubtedly innovative composition.[53]

Philodamus

[Δεῦρ' ἄνα[54] Δ]ιθύραμβε Βάκχ'	[Hither lord, D]ithyrambus, Bacchus
ε[ὔιε, ταῦρε, κ]ι̣σ̣σ̣ο̣χαῖ-	[greeted with "Euoi," bull, i]vy-tressed,
τα, Βρόμι', ἠρινα[ῖς ἵκου]	Roarer, come in [these] spring
[ταῖσδ'] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις·	times that are holy –
Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰό[βακχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιά]ν·	Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
[ὃ]ν Θήβαις ποτ' ἐν εὐίαις	whom in Thebes, once, where "Euoi" is cried
Ζη[νὶ γείνατο] καλλίπαις Θυώνα,	Thyone of fair children [bore] to Zeus,
πάντες δ' [ἀθά]νατοι [χ]όρευ-	and all the [imm]ortals [d]anced,
σαν, πάντες δὲ βροτοὶ χ[άρεν]	and all mortals r[ejoiced]
[σαῖσι], Βάκχιε, γένναις.	[at your] birth, Bacchian.
Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ,	Ie Paean, come, saviour,
[εὔφρων τάνδε] πόλιν φύλασσ'	benignly preserve this city
εὐαίωνι σὺν [ὄλβωι.]	with a blessed era of prosperity.
Ἦν,[55] τότε βακχίαζε μὲν	Lo, on that day there was bacchic dance
χθὼ[ν μεγαλώνυμός] τε Κά-	in the mighty-famed land of Cad-
δμου Μινυᾶν τε κόλπ[ος ...]	mus, and the vale of the Minyans, and [..
[..]ωα τε καλλίκαρπος·	[..] oa fair in crops –
Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰόβ[ακχ' ὦ ἰὲ] Παιάν·	Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
πᾶσα δ' ὑμνοβρύης χόρευ-	and, brimming with hymns, was dancing
εν[Δελφῶ]ν ἱερὰ μάκαιρα χώρα·	all Delphi's holy, blessed land.
αὐτὸς δ' ἀστε[ρόεν δ]έμας	And you yourself, your starry body
φαίνων Δελφίσι σὺν κόραι[ς	displaying, with Delphian girls

53 I am grateful to Tim Whitmarsh for allowing me to refer to this suggestion which he made during a discussion of this chapter's section on Philicus at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Note too the epithet λεπτή of a divine stomach (56). If Gallavotti's supplement in line 8 ἐξαμ[έτρους στενάζει] (see n. 18 above) is correct it would offer another (rather different) case of self-referentiality.

54 The supplement [Δεῦρ' ἄνα] goes back to Weil 1895, and is plausible whether one takes ἄνα as "come on!" or as vocative of ἄναξ, cf. Furley and Bremer 2001: 2.58.

55 Ἆν Vollgraff.

[Παρν]ασσοῦ πτύχας ἔστας.
Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σω[τή]ρ,
εὔφρων [τάνδε] πόλιν φύλασσ'
εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβῳ.

took your place on the folds of [Parn]assus.
Ie Paean, come, saviour,
benignly preserve this city
with a blessed era of prosperity.

[Νυκτ]ιφαὲς[56] δὲ χειρὶ πάλ-
λων σ̣[έλ]ας ἐνθέοις [σὺν οἴσ-]
τροις ἔμολες μυχοὺς [Ἐλε]υ-
σῖνος ἀν' [ἀνθεμώ]δεις·
Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰόβακχ' ὦ ἰ[ὲ Παι]άν·
[ἔθνος ἔνθ'] ἅπαν Ἑλλάδος
γᾶς ἀ[μφ' ἐ]νναέταις [φίλοις] ἐπ[όπ]τ̣αις
ὀργίων ὁσ[ίων Ἴ]ακ-
χον [κλείει σ]ε̣· βροτοῖς πόνων
ὤιξ[ας δ' ὅρ]μ̣ον [ἄμοχθον.][57]
Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτή[ρ,
ε[ὔφρων] τάνδε [πόλιν φύλα]σσ'
εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι.

And in your hand brandishing your [night]-
lighting flame, with god-possessed frenzy
you went to the vales of [Eleu-]
sis rich in flowers –
Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
where the whole people of Hellas'
land, alongside [your own] native witnesses
of the ho[ly] mysteries, calls upon you
as Iacchus: for mortals from their pains
you have op[ened a ha]ven [without toils].
Ie Paean, come, saviour,
benignly preserve this city
with a blessed era of prosperity.

[Παννυχίσιν] δὲ καὶ χοροῖς
γ[............]αις
[.............]εκγ
[...............]ς
....
....
[....] υθ ... υρ[
. λ .. το ... ν[....]
Ἰὲ] Παι[άν, ἴθι σωτήρ]
εὔφρω[ν τάνδε] π̣ό̣[λιν] φύλασ[σ']
[ε]ὐ[αίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι].

[In all-night festivals] and dances

Ie Paean, come, saviour,
benignly preserve this city
with a blessed era of prosperity.

[Ἔ]ν[θεν ἀ]π'[58] ὀλβίας χθονὸς
Θεσ̣[σαλίας] ἔκελσας ἀ-

From that prosperous land
you voyaged to The[ssaly's]

56 Diels 196 proposed [Νυκτι]φαές for Weil 1895's [ἀστρο]φαὲς … δ[έρ]ας: σ̣[έλ]ας was proposed by Vollgraff.

57 ἄμοχθον Vallois 1931, ἄλυπον Weil 1895.

58 ἀπ' Vollgraff, ἐπ' Weil 1895.

στη τέμενός τ' Ὀλύμπι[ον],	cities and to the holy precinct of Olympus
[Πιερ]ίαν τε κλειτάν·	and [Pier]ia the renowned –
Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰόβακχ' [ὦ ἰὲ Παι]άν·	Euoi, O Iobacchus, [O Ie Pae]an –
Μοῦσαι [δ'] αὐτίκα παρθένοι	and the Muses forthwith, the maidens,
κ[ισσῶι] στε[ψ]άμεναι κύκλωι σε πᾶσαι	crowned themselves with ivy and in a circle
μ[έλψαν] ἀθάνα[τον] ἐς ἀεὶ	d[anced and sang] around you: "immortal
Παιᾶν' εὐκλέα τ' ὀ[πὶ κλέο]υ-	forever Paean and renowned" they hymned
σαι· [κα]τᾶρξε δ' Ἀπόλλων.	with their voice; and Apollo led their song.
Ἰὲ Παιά[ν, ἴθι σ]ωτήρ,	Ie Paean, come, saviour
[εὔ]φρων τ[άνδε] πόλιν φύλ[ασσ'	benignly preserve this city
εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι.	with a blessed era of prosperity.
....σευ . θ . εṭαστ . τιμ .... ισορι	
....κανεξẹσι πυθοχρη̣[στ .....] ἰαχὰν	...]pronounced by the Pythian[ ] cry
... νεαι	
εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰόβακχ' [ὦ ἰὲ Παιὰ]ν	Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
... εμι .... λε ..δαιδ ...... πις	torch (?)
[	
........]νφο[	
[	
παλ	
ρων φιλ	
ων προφη[	prophet[
νομοθετ[	lawmak[er?]
παλλ . κ̣[	
ωσ[	
[	
[	
[	
ναπεμπε̣[	send
οισέβου[σι	who revere
ωσδυσαντ̣[	
σ̣ιν εχρθθπο̣[	
ε χώραν ελ̣ε	land
[.........]	
πατρωι [.........]	ancestral
Ἰ[ε̣ Παιάν, ἴθι] σωτήρ,	Ie Paean, come, saviour
[εὔφρων] τάνδε πόλιν φύλ[ασ]σ'	benignly preserve this city
εὐαίωνι σ[ὺ]ν ὄλβ[ωι.]	with a blessed era of prosperity.

Ἐκτελέσαι δὲ πρᾶξιν Ἀμ-
φικτύονας θ[εὸς] κελεύ-
ει τάχος, ὡ[ς Ἑ]ḳαβόλος[59]
μῆνιṿ ε[..][60] κατάσχηι.
Εὐοῖ ὦ [Ἰόβ]ακχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν·
δε[ῖξαι] δ' ἐγ ξενίοις ἐτεί-
οις θεῶν ἱερῶι γένει συναίμωι
τόνδ' ὕμνον, θυṣίαν δὲ φαί-
νει[ν] σὺν Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίας
πα[νδ]ήμοις ἱκετείαις.
Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ,
εὔ[φρ]ων τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ'
εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι.

To bring to completion the work
the god commands the Amphictyons
with speed, so the Far-shooter
may restrain his wrath –
Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
and to put on show in the yearly welcoming
of gods, for the holy race, this
hymn for his brother, and to present a sacrifice
together with prosperous Hellas'
people-wide supplications.
Ie Paean, come, saviour
benignly preserve this city
with a blessed era of prosperity.

Ὦ μάκαρ ὀλβία τε κεί-
νων γεṿ[εὰ] βροτῶν, ἀγή-
ρων ἀμίαντον ἃ κτίσηι
ναὸ[ν ἄ]ṿαḳ[τι] Φοίβωι
Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰόβακχ' ὦ ἰὲ Π[αιάν].
χρύσεον χρυσέοις τύποις
πα[.........]ṿ θ̣εαι 'γκυκλοῦ[νται][61]
ḳω̣[.........]δογ, κόμαν
δ' ἀργαίνοντ' ἐλεφαντί[ναν
ἐν] δ' αὐτόχθονι κόσμωι.
Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι [σωτήρ,]
εὔφρων τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ'
εὐαί[ωνι] σὺν ὄλβωι.

O blessed and prosperous is that
generation of mortals, which will
establish an unageing, unpollutable
temple for the [lo]rd Phoebus –
Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
golden with golden images
[the Paean?] the goddesses encircle
[ ] his hair
gleaming in ivory
and with an indigenous adornment.
Ie Paean, come, saviour
benignly preserve this city
with a blessed era of prosperity.

Πυθιάσιν δὲ πενθετή-
ροις [π]ροπό[λοις] ἔταξε Βάκ-
χου θυσίαν χορῶν τε πọ[λ-]
[λῶν] κυκλίαν ἅμιλλαν
(Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰ[ό]βακχ' [ὦ ἰὲ Παι]ὰν)
τεύχειν, ἁλιοφεγγ[έ]σ[ι]ν
δ'ἀ[ντ]ο[λαῖς][62] ἴσον ἁβρὸν ἄγαλμα Βάκχο[υ]

And for the penteteric Pythiads
he has ordered his ministers
that a sacrifice to Bacchus and for many
choruses a circular competition –
Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
shall be created, and like the rays of the rising
sun a delicate statue of Bacchus

59 [Ἑ]ḳαβόλος Roussel [ἐπ]άβολος Weil 1895.
60 μῆνιṿ ἑ[κὰς] Marcovich 1975 μῆνιṿ ἑ[ὴν Furley and Bremer 2001.
61 'γκυκλοῦ[νται] Vollgraff.
62 ἀ[ντ]ο[λαῖς] Vollgraff, ἀ[ρχ]ο[ύσαις] Weil 1895.

ἐν [ζεύγει][63] χρυσέων λεόν-		in a chariot drawn by golden li-
των στῆσα[ι], ζαθέωι τε τ[εῦ-]		ons shall be set up, and for the most godly
ξαι θεῶι πρέπον ἄντρον.	(140)	god shall be created a suitable grotto.
Ἰὲ Παιά[ν, ἴθι σω]τήρ,		Ie Paean, come, saviour
εὔφρων τάνδε πόλ[ιν φ]ύλασσ'		benignly preserve this city
εὐα[ίωνι] σὺν ὄλβωι.		with a blessed era of prosperity.
Ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε Βακχ[ια]σ̣-		Come then, welcome the Bacchants'
[τὰ]ν Δι[ό]νυσ[ον, ἐν δ' ἀγυι-]	(145)	Dionys[us, and in the streets]
α̣ῖς ἅμα σὺγ [χορ]οῖσ]ι κ[ι-]		together with choruses with ivy in their
[κλήισκετε] κισσ[οχ]αίταις		tresses call upon him –
Ε[ὐοῖ ὦ Ἰ]όβακχ' ὦ ἰὲ [Παιὰν]		Euoi, O Iobacchus, O Ie Paean –
πᾶσαν [Ἑλ]λάδ' ἀν' ὀ[λβίαν		throughout all of prosperous Hellas
παν ....ετε .. πολ .. υ ..σ̣τα ..ν̣ας ..ρεπι	(150)[64]	
λ̣ω̣ .....ν ... ιο.ε ... κυκλι[		
[Χαῖρ'[65] ἄ]να[ξ] ὑγιείας.	(153)	[Hail! L]ord of health.
Ἰὲ Πα[ιάν, ἴ]θι σω[τήρ·		Ie Paean, come, saviour
εὔφρων] τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ'	(155)	benignly preserve this city
[εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι.]		with a blessed era of prosperity.

The Delphic paean for Dionysus by Philodamus, from the Ozolian Locrian city of Scarpheia, is a poem that has been much more discussed than that of Philicus in recent decades.[66] I have chosen it as a palmary example of a paean that is a cult song rather than a literary production, though in using this distinction I agree with those scholars who question it.[67] The paean is known to us because the *stele* on which it was inscribed, at some date in the fourth century, was later used for re-paving the Sacred Way in Delphi. Much of it is well preserved,

63 ζεύγει Vollgraff.

64 Vollgraff and Sokolowski 1936 restore this line to include a reference to the worshippers proceeding to Athens.

65 Χαῖρ' Vollgraff.

66 Especially illuminating is the discussion of Clay 1996, *inter alia* carrying further the observations of Käppel 1992 that Philodamus was influenced by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and arguing persuasively that it was his model for the paean. For other discussions since the *editio princeps* of Weil 1895 see Furley and Bremer 2001: 2. 52–53; since 2001 note Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004: 187–206; Bertazzoli 2009; Calame 2009; Marcos Macedo 2010: 268–286. The stone has been re-read by Pascale Brillet-Dubois and Richard Bouchon, who are preparing a new edition and commentary.

67 E.g. Brown 1990: 174–175.

but the central stanzas which might have answered some questions are not. We now seem to have a firm date for its first performance, not because we know anything of Philodamus himself, but because the office of the Delphic eponymous magistrate in charge of arrangements, Etymondas, can be dated to 340/339 BC. At this date the temple of Apollo, destroyed in 373 BC, had not yet been completely rebuilt, and one of the divine commands the paean seeks to reinforce is the acceleration of that work of rebuilding.

But the more important divine instruction is to offer cult to Dionysus, by singing *this* hymn, the paean of Philodamus, in the late spring festival, the *Theoxenia*; by setting up an ἀγών of κύκλιοι χοροί, i.e. dithyrambs, within the framework of the penteteric summer festival, the *Pythia*; by erecting a statue of Dionysus in a chariot drawn by golden lions; and by building him an ἄντρον. This substantially extends the role of Dionysus in Delphi. In the archaic and high classical period Dionysus had been worshipped by dithyrambs chiefly during the winter months while Apollo was absent among the Hyperboreans.[68] Now, as well as being given an important place on the West pediment of the reconstructed temple, equipollent to the place of Apollo on the East pediment, Dionysus' apparently growing importance was to be formalised by the promotion to a place in the calendar both of the *Theoxenia* and of the summer *Pythia*'s ἀγὼν μουσικός of the genre particularly associated with his cult, dithyramb.

The "paean" itself emblematises this promotion by addressing Dionysus in a form particularly associated with Apollo and Asclepius, blending Dionysiac and Apolline cult-titles, emphasizing their kinship as brothers, presenting Apollo as issuing the orders for his brother's worship, and modelling itself on the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.[69]

Time and Place, Speech and Narrative in Philodamus

The paean repeatedly anchors its performance in the *hic et nunc*: the *hic* is the *polis* of Delphi, the *nunc* is its spring festival, the *Theoxenia*, described poetically, to avoid the technical term, in 3–4, ἠρινα[ῖς ἱκοῦ | ταῖσδ'] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις, and in 110–112 (following κελεύει 106–107) … δε[ῖξαι δ' ἐγ ξενίοις ἐτεί|οις θεῶν ἱερῶι γένει συναίμωι | τόνδ' ὕμνον. It must be admitted that the deictic ταῖσδ' of line 4 is a supplement: ταῖς or σαῖς would also be possible. But the τάνδε of the

68 Cf. Bacchylides 16. 5–11 Snell-Maehler; Plu. *De E Delphico* 388–389.

69 Cf. Clay 1996 and above n. 66.

three-line *ephymnion* that closes each thirteen-line stanza is secure in several places: Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ, | εὔφρων τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ' | εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι. These deictics will continue to constitute *deixis ad oculos* in any Delphic *Theoxenia* in which "this hymn," τόνδ' ὕμνον, is sung, and indeed both this τόνδε and the τάνδε of τάνδε πόλιν will maintain the same deictic function for a viewer reading the text inscribed in the sanctuary.[70]

But though Delphi is prayed to be the destination of Dionysus now, his initial arrival there in mythical time is only achieved after an extended narrative of his birth and of his welcome as a god by the established dwellers on Olympus and by mortals in other parts of Greece. This narrative is, characteristically of hymns, introduced by a relative pronoun at lines 6–7:[71] ὃν Θήβαις ποτ' ἐν εὐίαις | Zη[νὶ] γείνατο καλλίπαις Θυώνα. It presents to its audience first the celebrations conducted among the gods (lines 8–10); next those in Thebes, Orchomenos and Euboea (lines 14–17); then, probably, at the Delphi of *illud tempus*, if we accept the supplement [Δελφῶ]ν in lines 19–20 χόρευ-|εν [[Δελφῶ]ν ἱερὰ μάκαιρα χώρα. At this point we have so far only heard the responses to Dionysus' birth. Then (at line 21) we hear how he himself displayed his starry body on Parnassus with the Delphic girls, the mythical models of the Thyiades: lines 21–23 αὐτὸς δ' ἀστερόεν δέμας | φαίνων Δελφίσι σὺν κόραις | Παρν]ασσοῦ πτύχας ἔστας. Dionysus then went to Eleusis, taking his place in its cult as Iacchus; to somewhere whose identity the loss of the fourth stanza has obscured; then via the cities of Thessaly to Olympus and Pieria, where in a cyclic song-dance (lines 59–60 κύκλωι σε πᾶσαι | μ[έλψαν) Apollo led the Muses (62 [κα]τᾶρξε δ' Ἀπόλλων). This widespread celebration in earth and on Olympus can be read as justification for augmentation of Dionysiac celebration in Delphi, and the cyclic song-dance of Apollo and the Muses offers a divine model both for the prescribed dithyrambic ἀγών and indeed, of course, for "this hymn" itself, even if its performance will probably not have been cyclic.

As almost always in cult-hymns the discourse of the frame is not narrative but address; the dominant mode is imperative. The first *secure* imperatives are in the *ephymnion*, 11–13: Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ | εὔφρων τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ'| εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι. But the imperative ἱκοῦ or ἱκέο is an uncontroversial supplement at lines 3–4, ἠρινα[ῖς ἱκοῦ | ταῖσδ'] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις. The first two words were suggested by the text's first editor, Weil, to have been δεῦρ' ἄνα, but they could have been δεῦρ' ἴθι.

70 For the importance of the act of inscription see LeVen forthcoming.

71 For this hymnic feature the discussion of Norden 1913: 168–176, remains fundamental.

The narrative and descriptive tenses introduced by ὃν … ποτ' in line 6 continue into the uncharted wastes of stanzas 6, 7 and 8; punctuated and anchored by the address of the *ephymnion*, and by at least one other address at lines 35–36: [κλείει σ]ε· βροτοῖς πόνων | ὤιξ[ας ὅρ]μον ἄμοχθον. When we return to *terra firma* in the much better preserved stanza 9, the present tense of κελεύει is no longer to be understood as part of the extended narrative introduced by ὃν … ποτ'. We are no longer *in illo tempore*. The same communication of a command, now in the aorist, is given near the start of stanza 11: line 132 ἔταξε. The instructions set out in detail in stanzas 9 and 11 are syntactically dependent on these two verbs of command. Between stanzas 9 and 11 there is one, 10, which opens (line 118) with a *makarismos*, and on it too depend instructions, or perhaps a description of what singers and audience already knew to be the plan for the decoration of the temple of Apollo. The final, twelfth stanza reverts to imperatives with the surprising δέχεσθε (line 144), an imperative addressed not to the god but to the Delphians.

To recapitulate, then, the only recurrent use of verbs in narrative tenses is within the account of Dionysus' birth and reception, introduced by the ὃν … ποτ' of lines 6–7; there are one or two encapsulated in the *makarismos*; and the only first-order narrative verbs are κελεύει and ἔταξε.

This recipe is not unusual in paeans either inscribed or "literary," but of course it is in varying degrees different from what we find in Homeric hymns or the hymns of Callimachus. The subordinate role of narrative and the primary role of "address"—which is also the stance of the *mesymnion* that constitutes line 5 of every stanza—may be one of the main reasons (perhaps *the* main reason) why within the narrative we find little or no direct speech—contrast the extensive and varied play with direct speech in *Homeric Hymns*, Bacchylides' dithyrambs, Callimachus' hymns, and the hymn of Philicus discussed above.

In their translation Furley and Bremer put inverted commas round "Forever immortal and famous Paian!" in their sentence "proclaiming you to be 'Forever immortal and famous Paian!' ": the Greek, however, is less decisively in favour of treating this as a quotation in *oratio recta*: μ[έλψαν] ἀθάνα[το]ν ἐς ἀεὶ | Παιᾶν' εὐκλέα τ' ὀ[πὶ κλέο]υ-|σαι, lines 60–62. Indeed to me the case seems to be equally strong for taking the following words in line 62 [κα]τᾶρξε δ' Ἀπόλλων as leading into what becomes *both* the paean's *ephymnion and* the words with which Apollo led off his cyclic chorus: Ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ | εὔφρων τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ'| εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι, even if that requires τάνδε πόλιν momentarily to acquire the reference of the "city" of the gods, Olympus. As observed by José Marcos, at this point in the paean the song of the Muses and of the chorus is the same, the barriers between myth and performance collapse, and the singing of

these words by the Muses legitimises the chorus' own innovation of hymning Dionysus as Paian.[72]

The other place in their translation where Furley and Bremer use inverted commas (as well as to begin and end the whole paean) is in the twelfth and last stanza: here they render lines 145–149 "and call upon him in your streets with dances performed by people with ivy in their hair who sing "Euhoi, o io Bakchos, o ie Paian!" all over blessed Hellas ..." The Greek is Ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε Βακχ[ια]σ̣-||[τὰ]ν Δι[ό]νυσ[ον, ἐν δ' ἀγυι-]| α̣ῖς ἅμα σὺγ [χοροῖσ]ι κ[ι-]| [κλήσκετε] κισσ[οχ]αίταις | Ε[ὐοῖ ὦ Ἰ]όβακχ' ὦ ἰὲ [Παιὰν] | πᾶσαν [Ἑλ]λάδ' ἀν' ὀ[λβίαν. It seems to me that we can perhaps take this *mesymnion*, now heard for the twelfth time, *both* as the *mesymnion* we have grown to love (or hate) *and* as an internal accusative after κ[ι-]||[κλήσκετε]: "summon him with the call 'Euhoi, o io Bakchos, o ie Paian.'" Even if this slight modification is not accepted, we are not dealing with a fully blown case of direct speech: this is not a sentence with a verb, it is no more than an invocation.

Overall, then, there are no clear cases where characters mentioned within the song, whether that song takes the form of prayer, of praise or of narrative subordinated by an introductory relative pronoun, are unambiguously given embedded utterances.

This matches what we find in other cult hymns. The only two cases I have found in Furley and Bremer are

(i) The anonymous Epidaurian hymn to the mother of the gods of the fourth or third centuries BC, their hymn 6.2,[73] in which the mother is addressed (by Zeus?) at line 15 "Mother, be off to the gods! Don't wander over the hills in case the ravening lions or timber-wolves [get] you ..." and she answers "I won't go off to the gods unless I receive my share: a half of sky above and a half of the earth and, third, a half of the sea. Only then will I go."

(ii) In the dactylic hexameter section (F) of the set of inscriptions which give us the paean of Isyllus. Here the encounter of Isyllus' son with Asclepius involves a short appeal by the boy and a long reply by Asclepius. Since this is in the hexameter section, not in the melic paean, it is not a counter-example.

Finally a brief mention of the granting of privileges at Delphi not only to Philodamus but also to his two brothers. As Jenny Strauss Clay reports, Dirk Obbink

72 Marcos Macedo 2010: 282–283.

73 Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 214–224; 2. 167–175.

made the attractive suggestion that the brothers of Philodamos were equal partners in the production of the Paean, and she suggests herself their roles were perhaps those of *choregos*, *didaskalos* and *kitharistes* (this last presumably Philodamus himself).[74] But as is clear from the Pythais inscription of two centuries later (discussed below), there were several important roles that might be played by the poet's brothers, and all we can confidently exclude is the curious suggestion that they jointly composed the paean.[75] It is also now clear, after a new reading of the stone, that on it no causal connection is explicitly set out between the composition of the hymn and the granting of the privileges.[76]

Limenius

Πα]ι̣ὰν δὲ καὶ π[ροσό]διον εἰς τ[ὸν θεὸν ὃ ἐπό]η̣σε[ν καὶ
προσεκιθάρισε]ν Λιμήνι[ος Θ]ο̣ίνο[υ Ἀθηναῖος.

The paean and prosodion to t[he god which was compos]ed [and accompanied on the cithara] by [the Athenian] Limenius, son of [Th]oenu[s].

[Ἴ]τ' ἐπὶ τηλέσκοπον τάνδε Παρ[νασί]αν [φιλόχορον]
δικόρυφον κλειτύν, ὕμνων κα̣[τά]ρχ[εσθ' ἐμῶν,[77]
Πιερίδες, αἳ νιφοβόλους πέτρας ναίεθ' [Ἑλι]κωνίδ̣[ας·]
μέλπετε δὲ Πύθιον χ[ρ]υσοχαίταν ἕ[κα]τον εὐλύραν
Φοῖβον, ὃν ἔτικτε Λα̣τὼ μάκαιρα πα[ρὰ λίμναι] κλυτᾶι,
χερσὶ γλαυκᾶς ἐλαίας θιγοῦσ̣' [ὄζον ἐν ἀγωνίαι]ς ἐριθα[λῆ.]
Πᾶ[ς δὲ γ]άθησε πόλος οὐράνιος [ἀννέφελος ἀγλαός,]
ν̣ηνέμους δ' ἔσχεν αἰθὴρ ἀε[λλῶν ταχυπετ]εῖς [δρ]όμους, λῆξε δὲ βα-
ρύβρομον Νη[ρέως ζαμενὲς ο]ἶδμ' ἠδὲ μέγας Ὠκεανός,
ὃς πέριξ [γᾶν ὑγραῖς ἀγ]κάλαις ἀμπέχει.
Τότε λιπὼν Κυνθίαν νῆσον ἐ[πέβα θεὸ]ς πρω[τό]καρ-

74 Clay 1996: 87 n. 9.

75 Oddly put forward by Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004 and espoused by Marcos Macedo 2010.

76 I am grateful to Pascale Brillet and Richard Bouchon for allowing me to refer to this important new information given in Pascale Brillet's paper on Philodamus' poem delivered to a symposium held at Stanford on 25 and 26 April 2014.

77 The postponement of δ' in the phrase κα̣[τά]ρχ[ετε δ' ἐμῶν] usually supplemented is unsatisfactory; the middle κα̣[τά]ρχ[εσθ' is as well attested as the active, and more often in religion contexts, cf. LSJ s.v. II.2.

πον κλυτὰν Ἀτθίδ' ἐπὶ γαλ[όφωι πρῶνι] Τριτωνίδος·
μελίπνοον δὲ Λίβυς αὐδὰγ χέω[ν λωτὸς ἀνέ-
μελ]πεν [ἁ]δεῖαν ὄπα μειγνύμενος αἰόλ[οις κιθάρι]ο[ς
μέλεσιν, ἅ]μα δ' ἴαχεν πετροκατοίκητος ἀχ[ὼ Παιὰν ἰὲ Παιάν·(?)]
[ὁ] δὲ γέγαθ', ὅτι νόῳ δεξάμενος ἀμβρόταν
Δι̣[ὸς ἐπέγνω φρέ]ν'· ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκείνας ἀπ' ἀρ-
χᾶς Παιήονα κικλήισκ[ομεν ἅπας] λα̣ὸς α[ὐτο]χθόνων
ἠδὲ Βάκχου μέγας θυρσοπλὴ[ξ ἑσμὸς ἱ]ε-
ρὸς τεχνιτῶν ἔνοικος πόλει Κεκροπία̣.
Ἀλ̣ [λὰ χρησμ]ωιδὸν ὃς ἔχεις τρίποδα, βαῖν' ἐπὶ θεοστιβ[έα
τάνδε Π]αρνασίαν δειράδα φιλένθεον.
Ἀμφὶ πλόκ[αμον σὺ δ' οἰ]νῶ[πα] δάφνας κλάδον
πλεξάμενος ἀπ[λέτους θεμελίους] ἀμβρόται χειρὶ σύ-
ρων, ἄναξ, Γ[ᾶς πελώρωι συναντᾶις[78] τ]έραι.
Ἀλλὰ Λατοῦς ἐρατογ[λέφαρον ἔρνος ἀγρία]ν παῖδα Γᾶ[ς]
τ' ἔπεφνες ἰοῖς, ὁ[μοίως τε Τιτυὸν ὅτε] πόθον ἔσχε μα̣τρὸς [φίλας ?]
[..]θῆρα κατέκτ[α]ς οσ[....
[... σ]ύριγμ' ἀπε[υν]ῶν[...

Εἶτ'] ἐφρούρε[ις δὲ Γᾶ[ς ἱερόν, ὦναξ, παρ' ὀμφαλόν, ὁ βάρ-]
βαρος Ἄρης ὅτε [τε]ὸν μαντόσ[υνον οὐ σεβίζων ἕδος]
[πολυκυθ]ὲς λη⟨ι⟩ζόμενος, ὤλεθ' ὑγρᾶι χι[όνος ἐν ζάλαι.]
[Ἀλλ', ὦ Φοῖβε,] σῶιζε θεό-
κτιστον Παλλάδος [ἄστυ καὶ
λαὸν κλεινόν, σύν] τε θεά,
τόξων δεσπότι Κρησίω[ν]
κυνῶ[ν τ' Ἄρτεμις, ἠδὲ Λα-
τὼ] κυδίστα̣· καὶ ναέτας
Δελφῶν τ[ημελεῖθ' ἅμα τέ-
κνοις συμ]βίοις δώμα̣σιν ἀ-
πταίστους, Βάκχου [θ' ἱερονί-
καισιν εὐμε]νεῖς μόλετε
προσπόλοισ[ι], τάν τε δορί-
σ̣[τεπτον κάρτεϊ] Ῥωμαίω[ν]
ἀρχὰν αὔξετ' ἀγηράτωι
θάλλ̣[ουσαν φερε]νίκαν.

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78 The imperfect *συνήντας* would fit the narrative better.

[Co]me to this slope seen from far off, Parnassus, friend to dances,
with twin peaks, lead off my hymns,
Pierian goddesses, who dwell on the snow-struck crags of Helicon,
and sing and dance the Pythian with golden tresses, the far-shooter, fine with the lyre,
Phoebus, whom blessed Leto bore by the famous [lake],
clutching with her hands a grey olive's ever-green [shoot in her labour-pain]s.
And the whole vault of the heavens rejoiced [cloudless and gleaming]
and the bright air kept windless the swift-flying paths of its storms, and there ceased
the deep-roaring, powerful surge of Nereus, and mighty Ocean,
who enfolds the earth all around in his liquid embrace.
Then leaving the Cynthian island the god set foot upon the first land to bear crops,
renowned Attica, on Tritonis' headland crowned with earth; and the African reed poured forth its honey-strained voice mingled with c[ithara's shi]mmering
[tunes]; and at the same time there called out the rock-dweller, Echo, ["Paean, Ie Paean"(?)].
And he rejoiced because he took in with his mind the immortal
[thought] of Zeus, and [recognised it]. For these reasons from that starting point
we call upon "Paeeon," we [the whole] people of those who are natives
and Bacchus' mighty sacred swarm, struck by his thyrsus,
of artists, dwelling in the city of Cecrops.
But you who control the tripod where [oracles] are sung, come to this god-trodden
ridge of Parnassus that loves divine possession.
And about your wine-dark locks you bound a shoot of laurel
And dragging along im[mense foundation-stones] with your immortal hand,
Lord, you joined battle with the gigantic monster of the Earth.
But you, [offspring] of Leto with desire [in your eyes], slew both the [savage] child
of Earth with your arrows, and l[ikewise Tityus, when] he conceived a longing for your mother
you killed the wild beast [.............]
a hissing from its lair [.............]
Then you stood guard by the Earth's holy navel, O Lord, when the bar-

barian's war-force, failing to revere your oracle and plundering your seat
with its many treasures, perished in the wet hail of a snowstorm.
[But come, Phoebus], keep safe Pallas' god-
founded [city and its
famous people, and together with you] the goddess,
mistress of Cretan bows
and of dogs, Artemis, and Le-
to of greatest fame; and [protect]
the dwellers in Delphi together with their
children, their wives, their homes
unshaken, and to the sacred victors,
attendants of Bacchus, come
benignly, and augment the spear-
garlanded empire of Rome with power
that ages not so that it
flourishes and wins victories.

My third section offers a brief discussion of Limenius because his poem and its associated epigraphic documents combine to offer information of a sort available neither for the hymn of Philicus nor for the paean of Philodamus.[79]

The text of Limenius' poem has been preserved on the south wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, alongside another paean by a poet and musician whose name has been convincingly argued by Bélis to be Athenaeus (Ἀθήναιος)—as against earlier interpretations of the stone's ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ which took it to be the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος.[80] Both paeans were argued by Bélis to have been performed in 128 BC;[81] Furley and Bremer argued for performance at the successive Pythaids of 138 BC and 128 BC;[82] Rutherford assigns the paean of Athenaeus to 128/7 BC and that of Limenius to 106/5 BC.[83]

79 For discussions between Weil and Reinach 1909–1913, see Furley and Bremer 2001: 2. 84–85. Since 2001 see Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004: 171–179 (cf. already Vamvouri 1998). It was only when this chapter was in proof that I saw the excellent discussion of Limenius' paean by Thomas (2015) and I have not attempted to take account of it.

80 Bélis 1992: 53–54, noting that one of the *choros* of 128 BC is named as Ἀθήναιος Ἀθηναίου, *FdD* 3.2 no. 47 line 19.

81 Bélis 1988; Bélis 1992: 140–141; Bélis 2001.

82 Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 129–131.

83 Rutherford 2004: 76 (following Schröder 1999).

The texts are inscribed close to those of official documents relating to administration of *Pythaides* sent in 138/7, 128/7, 106/5 and 98/97 BC.[84] Both poems are accompanied by musical notation, which has encouraged attempts at re-creation.[85] Its superscription identifies its composer and citharistic accompanist as an Athenian Limenius, son of Thoenus. The father's name comes not from this text, where only Θ]ọίνο[υ can be read, but from one of the *Pythais* documents which names Limenius, son of Thoenus, as one of the seven *kitharistae* who took part in the *Pythais* of 128 BC, the archonship of Dionysius.[86] As Furley and Bremer rightly insist, it is only barely conceivable that these are not the same *kitharistes*.[87] One could add that the name is extremely unusual—nobody else of that name from Attica or anywhere else in the published volumes of *LGPN*, though one or two names quite close to Limenius turn up in the imperial period. The name of his father, Thoenus—also the name of a brother who, like Limenius, was one of the *kitharistae* on the *Pythais*—is more common, but it is very likely this is the same father and son Thoenus whom we know in 131 BC from the deme Atene, way down near Sounion.[88]

Both Limenius and brother Thoenus are professional musicians, members of the Athenian chapter of the Dionysiac *technitae*.[89] They are only two of a huge number of performers which the document shows to have taken part in the *Pythais* of 128/7 BC; thirty-nine people who were to sing the paean itself (τοὺς ᾀισομένους τὸν παιᾶνα εἰς τὸν θεόν);[90] two auletes; seven citharists; one aulode; either two or three citharodes; eight comic performers (κωμωιδοί); two tragic performers (τραγωιδοί); one κωμικός. Three of the singers also figure in the list as χοροδιδάσκαλοι τῶν Πυθαϊστῶν.

In my view Limenius was not a bad wordsmith, commendable for much more than his striking neologism πετροκατοίκητος (line 15);[91]and although there are many similarities to the closely contemporary paean of Athenaeus, the forty-seven surviving lines of Limenius' poem are more interesting than the

84 *FdD* 3.2 nos 11, 47, 48 and 49. For brief but illuminating discussions of the nature of *Pythaides* see Rutherford 2004: 76–81, and further in Rutherford 2013.

85 References and links in Furley and Bremer 2001; Hagel and Harrauer 2005 (with a CD).

86 *FdD* 3.2 no. 47.

87 Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 129 n. 103; so too Stefanis 1988: 284 no. 1553.

88 *LGPN* 2 1994 s.n. Θοῖνος, cf. Stefanis 1988: 223 no. 1223.

89 On the Dionysiac *technitai* in this period see Le Guen 2001.

90 *FdD* 3.2 no. 47 line 9.

91 If, of course, it *is* a neologism. That it can be accommodated in a hexameter opens the possibility that Limenius found it in a lost epic mentioning Athens.

twenty-five of that of Athenaeus.[92] Like the poem of Athenaeus, that of Limenius uses no refrain, neither meshymnic nor epiphthegmatic. It is widely thought that the first thirty-three lines in a cretic-paeonic metre are the paean proper, and the last fourteen lines, in an aeolic metre, are what is termed π[ροσό]διον in the superscription.[93] But even in this last section there is no refrain, and indeed in neither section do we certainly hear Ἰὲ Παιάν.[94] It is of course possible that the choir was trained to intersperse paeanic utterances that were not included in the inscribed text.

The paean gives no strong sense of performance at a particular time—Limenius says nothing explicit about the season of the year, unlike Alcaeus in the 580s BC[95] and Philodamus in 340/39 BC. The epithet νιφοβόλους given to the πέτρας of Helicon (line 3) may point to performance in spring rather than high summer, but need not pick out a feature of these rocks' present condition (compare the snow on Parnassus in line 17 of Athenaeus' paean). Nor is there any reference to the divine sign, lightning over Mount Parnes, that presumably had catalysed the sending of the *Pythais*.

On the other hand three horizontal spatial axes stand out, converging upon Delphi, identified as the place of performance by the deictic τάν[δ]ε in the command of the first two lines—[Ἴ]τ' ἐπὶ τηλέσκοπον τάν[δ]ε Πα[ρνασί]αν [φιλόχορον] | δικόρυφον κλειτύν—and again in the parallel invocation to Apollo at lines 21–22, βαῖν' ἐπὶ θεοστιβ[έα | τάνδε Π]αρνασίαν δειράδα φιλένθεον. These axes are: (a) the movement of the Heliconian Muses to Delphi to lead the paean's performance (ὕμνων κ[ατά]ρχ[ετε δ' ἐμῶν, line 2); (b) the movement of Apollo from his birth on Delos to his arrival at Delphi, where he destroys the Pytho and then the invading Gauls; (c) the movement of the Pythaist chorus from Athens to Delphi, a movement implicit in the performance that the audience is hearing and that later readers of the texts on the wall of the Athenian treasury are reading.

The shortest journey is that of the Muses. Though they are in some sense, perhaps by origin, Pierian,[96] their current dwelling is taken to be Mount Helicon, which will have been prominently visible on the Pythaists' left for the

92 For some good points about the poem's structure, especially its relation of past to present, see Marcos Macedo 2010: 221–231.

93 Furley and Bremer 2001; Rutherford 2004: 81; Marcos Macedo 2010: 224–225.

94 Unless, with Pöhlmann 1970, one restores the end of line 15 (his line 17), where the line-length is uncertain, as ἀχ[ῶ παιάν ἰὲ παιάν], a restoration printed by Powell 1925; Bélis 1992; and Rutherford 2004: 81, but ignored by Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 92–100.

95 Alcaeus fr. 307 Campbell, cf. Furley and Bremer 2001: 2. 1; Bowie 2009: 120–121.

96 Cf. Hesiod *Theog*. 53 with West ad loc.

central section of their journey to Delphi, and which, as the Dionysiac *technitai* will have known very well, was closely associated with the Muses in the *Mouseia* now being regularly celebrated at Thespiae.[97] The longest journey is that of Apollo. Six lines (5–10) draw us into the miraculous moment of his birth on Delos: Delos had been administered by Athens for some 40 years, since 166 BC, and the island's Athenian credentials are enhanced by the innovative detail that it was an olive tree, not a palm, that Leto clutched when in labour (line 6).[98] At the same time Limenius extends the impact of Apollo's birth to the whole world—even the surrounding Ocean, increasingly familiar to the Greek world of the later second century BC, was hushed. The next ten lines, 11–20, take Apollo to Attica. Here Limenius naturally follows the Athenocentric view, first found in Aeschylus *Eumenides* 9–10, that Apollo made his mainland Greek landfall not in Boeotia but Attica. On this view his journey from Athens was the mythical model for that of the *Pythais* itself,[99] and as has been noticed, this bolsters the Athenian claim to the special favour of Pythian Apollo.[100] Here the response of Echo is presented as an etymology for the cult title Παιήων, and Apollo's pleasure when he visited Athens is made the basis of his cult there, offered by the whole autochthonous λαός (lines 18–19) and by the great swarm of Dionysiac *technitai* resident in Athens. By this doublet Limenius endorses the right of the Pythiasts to represent the Athenian people as a whole, and glosses over the fact that by 128 BC many of these professionals were not autochthonous Athenians.

Apollo's journey from Athens to Delphi is not narrated: it can be inferred from the journey of the Pythiasts that imitates it.[101] Instead Apollo is now, at lines 21–22, asked to come in a paradeigmatic cletic imperative, 'Ἀ[λλὰ χρησμ]ῳδὸν ὃς ἔχεις τρίποδα, βαῖν', which might be seen to operate in the same way as the meshymnic invocations of Philodamus, and at the least offers a brief change of perspective from the narrative tenses that go before and after. More narrative of the god's arrival certainly follows: his encounter with the Pytho at lines 23–25

97 For the reorganisation of the Thespian *Mouseia* late in the third century BC see Knoepfler 1996, and for their late-hellenistic and Roman development Robinson 2012.

98 As an anonymous referee points out, earlier writing does refer to a sacred olive tree on Delos (Hdt. 4.34.2, E. *IT* 1100, Call. *Hy.* 4.262 and fr. 94), but not as a support for Leto in labour.

99 See Sommerstein in his commentary on *Eumenides* ad loc., citing Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F31(b) = Strabo 9.3.11–12. This may also be a version that is represented on the pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi built by the Alcmaeonids, cf. Athanassaki 2011.

100 Vamvouri 1998: 49 ff.; Furley and Bremer 2001: 2. 96.

101 A correspondence also noted by Rutherford 2001: 81.

(cf. Athenaeus' paean lines 19–22) leads into an apostrophe congratulating him on his victory. Like Athenaeus, Limenius at line 30 mentions the monster's hissing, [σύ]ριγμ',[102] though he first teases his audience with a verb of quite different sense but similar sound, σύρων, used at lines 24–25 of Apollo himself. Given the fame attaching to the νόμος Πυθικός, still well known to Pollux in the late second century AD, and given the fact that this auletic nome represented different stages in the struggle between Apollo and Pytho, it must have been a great temptation for a musician to recall the music of that nome at this point of the narrative, and I recommend those interested in trying to recover something of the νόμος Πυθικός to ponder the musical accompaniment to these lines.

Apollo's next achievement, lines 27–29, *may* have been the killing of Tityus, though in Strabo's reworking of Ephorus this achievement is set during his journey from Athens to Delphi.

As in Athenaeus' paean the final manifestation of Apollo's divine power is the destruction of the Gallic invaders of 278 BC. The last lines shift from cretic-paeonics to glyconics to sing the prayer that Apollo, Artemis and Leto preserve Athens, the inhabitants of Delphi, the Dionysiac *technitae* and the Roman empire.

The singers have an almost equal amount of narrative and imperative verbs. There is no speech within narrative, direct or even indirect.

Brief Conclusions

Despite using a melic metre Philicus presents his hymn in a very different way from the paean poets, Philodamus and Limenius. His exploitation of speech follows a Greek narrative habit that we see already in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Homeric Hymns* and that is prominent in much melic poetry—e.g. in Stesichorus, in Pindar's *epinicia* and in Bacchylides' *epinicia* and dithyrambs—but is rare in Pindar's *paeans* and in surviving cult hymns. His interest in the cults of old Greece matches that of contemporary poet-scholars with Alexandrian connections, Callimachus and Apollonius, and the interest I have suggested in the origins of Attic comedy is also found in his fellow-member of the Pleiad, Lycophron of Chalcis. If I am right to propose a focus on the cult of Demeter and Kore at Prospalta rather than, or at least alongside, the big names of Eleusis and Halimous, this chimes with Callimachus' preference for the off-beat and marginal over the central and well-trodden.

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102 Athenaeus lines 21–22, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 360–362.

In Philodamus and Limenius the framework is one of appeal, prayer and exhortation, and the audience and reader are shifted into narrative by a relative pronoun. Within this assemblage of appeal, prayer, exhortation and narrative almost the only voice that can be heard is that of the singing chorus. Speech in the mouths of others is hard to establish, and if it is there the utterances are attributable *both* to these others (Philodamus' Muses; perhaps Limenius' Echo) *and* at the same moment to the chorus. It is as if the chorus' urgent need to hold the attention of the god cannot be imperilled by another potentially distracting voice. These poets' spatial horizons, however, are much broader than those of Philicus. Whereas Philicus' *Demeter* seems (like Callimachus' *Hecale* to which it is often compared) to have confined its universe to a few Attic demes, and may indeed have set its action in just one deme, both Philodamus and Limenius ask their audiences and readers to sweep across the Greek world, in the former's poem tracking the news of Dionysus' birth and the spread of his cult, in the latter's the path of Apollo to Delphi where the paean is performed and inscribed.

PART 3

Imperial Greek Hymns

CHAPTER 6

Narrative in a Late Hymn to Dionysos (P. Ross. Georg. I.11)

*W.D. Furley**

Introduction

The hymn to Dionysos partially preserved on a papyrus now kept in the National Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi and first published in Russian by Grigol Zereteli in 1918,[1] contains an exciting and cruel narrative of how Dionysos punished Lykurgos for his impiety.[2] The first section of the text is lost; we join the narrative at the point when Dionysos makes the earth shrivel and dry, leaving Lykurgos stranded in a horrible desert without water in which nothing grows. The author goes on to describe how Lykurgos continues to resist Dionysos and is punished first by madness, which leads to him slaughtering his own sons and, nearly, his wife, then by vines which throttle him to death.[3] Finally the author does not relent in his description of Lykurgos' punishment even after the latter has descended to Hades as a shade. There he has to draw water endlessly into a leaky jar, in the manner of the Danaids. Thus, the text concludes, the son

* I thank Andrew Faulkner for comments leading to useful revisions of this piece.

1 1918: 873–880, 971–1002, 1153–1180; then followed its publication in G. Zereteli and O. Krüger 1925; further texts were published based solely on Zereteli: Keydell 1931; Tsirimpas 1953; Heitsch 1961, no. LVI; Sutton 1987. In 2006 I studied the papyrus in Tbilisi and published a revised text with photographs in *ZPE* 162, 2007: 63–84. Readings in this chapter refer to this published text.

2 Perhaps the most famous predecessor in antiquity for the story was the third play in Aeschylus' tetralogy *Lykurgia*; see Deichgräber 1939; Lozanova-Stancheva 1995: ch. 2. For further literary versions see Sutton 1987. Sutton suggests that the Lykurgos section of Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* and the Tbilisi hymn may have a common "source" in the lost work *Bassarika* by one Dionysios; see Livrea 1973. This must remain speculative.

3 The lost first section of the text, indeterminate in length, no doubt described Lykurgos' hostility to the god; whether this was modelled on the passage in the *Iliad* (6.130–140) in which Lykurgos was said to have hounded the "nurses of Dionysos" and Dionysos himself into the sea, we cannot tell. Here it is said that "the gods" were angry at Lykurgos for his enmity toward Dionysos; Zeus struck him blind, nor did he live long after the misdeed. See Henrichs 1994: 31–58.

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of Kronos deals with sinners, punishing them during their lifetime and when dead. “Hold on to just this fact”—he admonishes his listeners—“and call on the god(s) to this/these song(s).” As I reconstruct the text at this point the author wrote:

ῶν θεῶν ῶν
α[ὐ]τοῦ[[c]] τοῦ cχέο· τῆcδε καλέc⟨c⟩αι θεοῦ ἐπ’ ἀοιδῆc[4]

The last line of this column and possibly the last line of the hymnic text says that this song belongs to a celebration on a certain day of the year:

[ῶν]
ἧc κ]ύρει τόδ[ε ἦμ]αρ ἐπιπλομένων λυκαβάντων.[5]
“which belongs to this day in the turning of the seasons.”

There follow lines added in the margin of the papyrus which seem to prescribe certain ritual actions, probably relating to the performance of the hymn in its ritual context. The conclusion of the hymn, then, seems to identify it as a liturgical text intended for performance at a calendrical festival. The lesson of the narrative is intended to be salutary for the audience: learn from Lykurgos’ mistakes and remember Zeus’ terrible retribution against sinners. Although Zeus is mentioned at the close, Dionysos is the main divine agent in the narrative and we can say that the hymn celebrates his awful power and unrelenting thirst for vengeance against the offender Lykurgos, rather than Zeus.’ Dionysos is, after all, the son of Zeus and justice is done in the father’s name.

Let us examine the narrative in more detail. It is told by an external narrator who never reveals his identity. Interestingly, the papyrus appears to be an *autographon*, the poet’s own draft of his hymn, whether intended for performance by himself or by another. We can tell this much by the unfinished state of the text and the marginal variants which he jotted down at certain places.[6] There are mistakes and metrical irregularities in the text which make it appear to be a first draft rather than a fair copy; the marginal variants appear to record alternative epithets or expressions which the author jotted down as

4 Furley: ạ[υ]ṭουτοụ ex ạ[υ]ṭουσοụ corr. Π: α[ὐ]λούς ṭọ[ι] χέο Tsirimpas: ἄ[λλ]ους το[ι] σχέο τῆσδε καλεῖν ‹σὺ› θεοὺς ἐπ’ ἀοιδῆς Zereteli: τῆσδε θεοῦ καλέειν ἐπ’ ἀοιδῆς Keydell—καλέσ‹σ›αι iam Sutton.

5 [κ]ῦρ̣ει Furley: ἧι κ]υρ̣εῖ Zereteli: ἧς κ]- Tsirimpas.

6 This was argued already by Zereteli 1918: 76–77; cf. Dorandi 1991.

he composed.[7] Lykurgos is the central character, but as we shall see, the story is told through the eyes of various participants. The narrator can see into all their minds, including even Zeus' at the end, and is, then, an omniscient external narrator. The context for the narrative is a performance of the hymn in which the poet and a human audience are present together—interacting through a direct address by the poet to the audience at the end of the hymn; so that in the narrative section there is a ready made audience besides the reader, external to the narration (though internal to the text). In this respect, the narrative situation is like that of a typical *Homeric Hymn* and others following that model. This audience, as we have seen, seems to have comprised celebrants at a calendrical festival, presumably in honour of Dionysos. At no point is there direct address of any god. This too is in the manner of *Homeric Hymns*, which prefer third-person narrative of a god's exploits rather than second-person adulation. However, the admonition to the audience at the end to "call to this song" implies a kind of refrain which the audience should utter at the close of the hymn to call on the god directly. We would have then a situation similar to that in Callimachus' sixth hymn in which a "master of ceremonies" both sings a hymnic narrative and calls on the congregation to utter a ritual cry.[8]

The narrator enlivens his story by a wide range of techniques ranging from choice of language to disposition or, to use an older word, artifice. First, he admits his audience (and us) to the thoughts and feelings of the protagonists as they act.[9] He describes how Lykurgos is struck dumb with fear when confronted by the scene of desolation on earth which Dionysos has caused: τάρβ]ει (or θάμ]βει) βεβολημένος ἀμφασίῃι τε (6). "Green fear" (χλῳ[ρ]ὸν δέος) causes the *bouplēx* to fall from his hands at the sight of the god's might (10–11). Lykurgos' resolution in the face of Dionysos' anger is compared to a promontory in the sea which sustains a battering from waves: "thus Lykurgos stood firm although he received a beating" (24). The scourging by Dionysos' attendants is not enough to beat him into submission. He suffers repeated bouts of madness inflicted by Lyssa before finally recognizing the god "through experience of troubles" (π⟨ε⟩ίρῃι παθέων 46). We have experienced vicariously his fear, his resolution in the face of adversity, his madness followed by cowed submission.

The narrator also admits us to Dionysos' thoughts during the struggle. The god is determined to prolong Lykurgos' suffering, rather than finishing him off quickly (27–28). Even when Lykurgos, having killed his own sons in madness,

7 See Furley 2007; Zumbo 1997: 1071 compares a "Hymn to Eirene" written in two versions, with interlinear variants on the *verso*: see Carlini 1966: 5–10 with plate II.

8 Callimachus *Hymn VI to Demeter* 1–2, 118–119; cf. Hopkinson 1984; Bing 1995.

9 What is commonly referred to in narratological terms as "focalization."

recognizes the god's might, Dionysos is unrelenting in his anger (47). He casts his plant, the vine, round Lykurgos' neck and limbs and squeezes the life from him. Lykurgos suffered "the most pitiable death of all living mortals" (51).

The effects of the action on minor characters also briefly become the focus of the narrative. The sons are "fools" to stoop and try to lift their inert father from the ground. They did not realize, the narrator explains, that they would be slaughtered by him before the very eyes of their mother (37–38); this imitates one of the common modes of narratorial intervention in Homer, the *nepios* comment. Kytis, too, Lykurgos' wife, has her moment of glory. Because she had resolutely opposed her husband's deranged impiety, the god spares her from Lykurgos' murderous insanity. Here too, the narrator interjects to comment on the action as well as simply "showing" the action, again in one of the modes frequently employed by the Homeric narrator, the counterfactual ("Kytis *would have died* with them but …" 42). At the end, even Zeus' divine plan, the rationale underlying the narrative, is laid open to view by the omniscient narrator: he punished Lykurgos in life and after death as a lesson to "all men who oppose the gods" (56).

The effect of this focus by the narrator on the effects of the action on several minor characters, his intervening to comment as well as simply "allowing the story to tell itself" in objective fashion, and his showing their motivations (in the case of Zeus), is quasi-dramatic and elevates the narrative technique above the simplest form of third-person external narration, in imitation of Homeric narrative. It enables us to see into the minds of the players as they interact; we feel Lykurgos' pain through the description of his suffering and we understand something of the nature of Dionysos' power through the poet's description of his implacable anger. Minor characters—the passion of the sons and mother—serve to highlight the central drama. As Aristotle says that Homer is in a sense "dramatic," so our poet here dramatizes his narrative by allowing us to feel with and for the individual agents. A direct comparison of our text with Aeschylus' lost play on the punishment of Lykurgos is unfortunately impossible (above n. 2), but one notes the very Aeschylean touch in line 46 where it is said that Lykurgos finally recognized the god through his "experience of suffering" (πείρῃ παθέων).

The disposition of characters is one aspect of narrative. The disposition of time, or sequence, is another. Here, our poet is quite unimaginative. His account—at least in its extant portion—makes no use of analepses or prolepses, unless we can call the statement of Lykurgos' eternal suffering in the Underworld a preview of the future. The narrative is inexorably sequential, perhaps in order to emphasize the unrelenting and terminal nature of Lykurgos' punishment or perhaps simply because the poet was not imaginative enough

to break the sequence with the devices of anticipation or suspense or even dialogue. At one point the poet shows awareness of the diachronic nature of his narrative. Lyssa pours an "illusion of snakes" on Lykurgos' senses to serve as distraction while news of his affliction travels to Thebes and calls his family to his side.[10] It is a slightly strange, but not impossible, construction: we are to imagine Lykurgos wrestling with his imaginary snakes while *Phēmē* flies to Thebes to tell his family about his madness.

Other linguistic signs point up the passing of time and string the episodes together. When Lykurgos bears the scourging by Dionysos' attendants impassively, this "enrages Dionysos all the more" (25). He determines to punish him with long drawn out agony rather than swift death. The sons arrive at Lykurgos' side when the "madness was just abating" (35 ἄρτι νέον λήγοντα πόνου). Upon their arrival Lyssa, we are told, "does not wait long" (39 οὐ γὰρ δὴν πάλι) before she stirs another bout of madness, in which Lykurgos kills his sons. After the massacre of Lykurgos' family, Dionysos "verily does not cease from his anger" (47). This is another way of saying: "the story doesn't end there." Once Lykurgos has met his pitiable end, his soul continues its torment for eternity. The beginning of the narrative is missing—we must supply the reason for Dionysos' anger from other sources—but what survives shows a progressive destruction of Lykurgos' kingdom, family and self, followed by everlasting punishment in the Underworld. It can hardly be said that the narrative of destruction has a climax; rather, it is episodic, lurching from one torment to the next, to end with a picture of Lykurgos in the Underworld suffering endless torment.[11] Pictorial art tended to highlight either the moment of his sin—the slaughter of the nymph Ambrosia—or his strangulation by the vine.[12]

The myth is one of chastisement of an opponent of a god to show the greater glory of that god. We might say that Dionysos' punishment of Lykurgos is a defining event in the god's life, as was his defeat of Pentheus,[13] his reception among the Olympians when he induced Hephaistos to free Hera,[14] and the defeat and metamorphosis of the kidnapping pirates at sea (seventh *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysos). The story chosen by the anonymous author of the Tbilisi

10 This is "Hypoplakian" Thebes near Mt Plakos in Mysia; cf. Chuvin 1991; Sutton 1987.

11 For the episodic style of Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* (a work on a *much* larger scale) cf. Shorrock 2005.

12 Cf. Farnoux 1992; Sutton 1975: 356–360; Griffith 1983: vol. 1, 217–232; and, for a new identification: Parlasca 2008: 318–327 with ill.

13 Memorably dramatized in Euripides' *Bacchae*.

14 The episode probably constituted the major myth of the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*; cf. West 2001 and id. 2011.

hymn falls, then, into Fröhder's fourth category of narrative in *Homeric Hymns*: "eine einmalige Begebenheit aus dem Leben der Gottheit" (a unique episode in the god's life).[15]

Our author seems to have been aware of antecedents, which he may purposefully have inverted. Thus Lykurgos withstands Dionysos' onslaught "like a promontory jutting into the sea," a πέτρη προβλῆς (21), whilst Dionysos in the seventh hymn stands on a promontory (ἀκτῇι ἐπὶ προβλῆτι 3) from which he is snatched by the pirates.[16] Dionysos in the *Homeric Hymn* throws off the bonds, described as λύγοι, "osiers," which the pirates tie him up in, whilst Dionysos in the Tbilisi hymn entangles Lykurgos in tentacles of his plant, the vine, which strangle him. Perhaps one can also see a reflex of the *Homeric Hymn* in the mild treatment meted out to those who try to stay others in their mad disobedience of the god. The helmsman of the pirate ship tries to dissuade the crew from imprisoning the handsome young man, as, to judge by his beauty and power, he is surely some god. In the Zereteli hymn it is Kytis, the wife, who is spared by Dionysos, because she had tried to restrain her husband (42–44). This motif of "pardon for the pious" recurs in other hymn-like epic narrative. The story of Salmoneus in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* shows how Salmoneus is brutally punished by Zeus for appropriating his divine prerogative (thunder and lightning), whilst his daughter, who had tried to restrain Salmoneus, is spared.[17]

Perhaps the final element in Lykurgos' punishment—filling leaky jars with water—is also an inversion of Dionysiac epiphany: no wine for the god's enemy, only an endless, frustrating, drawing of water. Burkert in *Antike Mysterien* has pointed to the motif of fetching water in leaky jars in iconography relating to those who have not undergone initiation, for example in Polygnotos' painting of "Odysseus in the Underworld" as described by Pausanias.[18]

The punishment of Lykurgos was a prominent motif in Dionysiac myth as it found expression in poetry and art. Like Pentheus, or the pirates, he exemplifies the stubborn person who spurns the god's rites and is punished accordingly. He is the negative exemplum cited *pour encourager les autres*.[19] Dionysos is not just any god. He is the recipient of *orgia*, mystery rites involving initiation

15 Fröhder 1994.

16 Cf. *Il.* 2. 395–396.

17 Fr. 30.24–28 M-W; cf. Furley 2007.

18 Burkert 1990; to this we can add the interesting testimony of Plato *Gorg.* 493a–b, that in Orphic-Pythagorean doctrine the uninitiated have a "leaky soul" which must be unremittingly filled in the afterlife. Cf. Zumbo 1997: 1077.

19 Cf. Cole 2007: 329: "Rather, the myths of resistance describing excessive frenzy inflicted by a punitive Dionysus show the dangers of refusing to honor the god."

and membership of a *thiasos*. The Dionysiac mysteries are somewhat elusive but certainly existed from the fifth century BC on, in loose combination with other deities of mystery cult such as the Mother of the Gods[20] and Demeter in a number of her manifestations.[21] A.D. Nock wrote: “In general I am inclined to think that, apart from the devotion of the sick to Asklepios, Dionysus provides the single strongest focus for private spontaneous pagan piety using ceremonial forms.”[22] The poetry surrounding these cults was commonly attributed to Musaios or Orpheus;[23] indeed there are a number of references, for example in the fourth-century Derveni Papyrus, to a collection of Orphic hymns relating to the cult of Mētēr/Demeter, clearly distinct from the *Homeric Hymns*.[24] We need to consider the possibility that a text such as the Zereteli hymn contained, in fact, the *hieros logos* of such Dionysiac mysteries, as has been argued by Zumbo in an article of 1997.[25]

According to Zumbo, the text may have been the *hieros logos* of a Dionysiac cult group in Egypt of the second century. The myth of Lykurgos will have served as an initiatory text designed to put the fear of god into initiates lest they oppose the god. Such specialized *hieroi logoi*, Zumbo argues, tended to cite a myth with particular local variants in order to distinguish them from shared tradition. He sees in the names used in this hymn, and the details of the mythical narrative, evidence of the particularization suited to a local Dionysiac community, keen to demarcate its dogma from others. It has to be said that the local variants of the Lykurgos myth chosen by the author are odd for a cult context in Egypt. As Zereteli recognized, the names of Lykurgos’ sons tend to point to an identification of the Thebes in question as “Hypoplakian” Thebes, near Mt Plakos in the Mysian Plain. Chuvin has strengthened the argument by pointing to place-name evidence connecting Kytis with the same area.[26]

Moreover, as I pointed out in my 2007 re-edition of the hymn, certain markers in the text tell against the use of the hymn for private initiation rites. At the end the author says that his text is designed for performance at a calendrical

20 Mētēr Theōn, Mētēr Oreia, Kybele, Magna Mater.

21 See in particular Reitzenstein 1978; Nilsson 1975; Cole 2007; Robertson 2003; Tassignon 2003; Merkelbach 1988; Bowden 2010: chs. 4 and 5.

22 1972.

23 Cf. Plato *Rep*. 364b–e; Bowden 2010: 139.

24 See Furley 2011: 216.

25 Zumbo 1997.

26 Chuvin 1991: 270–271. For evidence of Dionysiac mysteries in Phrygia see Cole 1991. Note the inscription from Magnesia recording the institution of three *thiasoi* of women in Bakchos’ cult: *CD* 146 with Henrichs 1978: 123–137; Bowden 2010: 110–111.

festival. Of course this does not rule out performance at biennial Dionysiaka of a local *thiasos*. Burkert has pointed out that individual initiation and calendrical celebrations of the community of initiates exist side by side.[27] The final "moral" of the story—think of Lykurgos and remember Zeus' wrath at the impious—seems to suit a text for community worship whether by *mystai* exclusively or by a "lay" congregation. It is interesting, as I said above, that Lykurgos' punishment in the Underworld correlates with iconography of those uninitiated in the Mysteries.

Hieroi logoi of mystery cults tended, by definition, to be secret and are therefore not the subject of Alexandrian editions written up in their turn in medieval manuscripts.[28] In a sense of course, every hymn is a *hieros logos* as it addresses a god of cult and often divulges mythical tradition about the god. Nevertheless there are distinctions. One wonders whether the reason why the *Homeric Hymns* to Dionysos and Demeter (nos. 1 and 2 in recent editions) were not included in the early collection was because they constituted just such *hieroi logoi* of mystery cult.[29] Kevin Clinton has pointed out all the discrepancies between *Demeter* and prominent features of cult in the Eleusinian Mysteries but he has not persuaded scholarly consensus that the hymn is not in some sense the sacred tale of Demeter's search for her abducted daughter which underlay the Mysteries.[30] The first *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysos, concerning as it did the punishment of Hera (for throwing Hephaistos from Olympus) and the return of Hephaistos through the mediation of Dionysos, may also have been a cult *arcanum*.[31]

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27 Burkert 1990. For private initiations see Bowden 2010: 137–147.

28 Note the edict of Ptolemaios Philopator that priests of Dionysos' *thiasoi* were to declare their ἱεροὶ λόγοι: *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées* no. 29. Cf. Zuntz 1950: 31. Zuntz concludes: "With some confidence it may be asserted that *B.G.U.* 1211 was issued in the early years of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, and quite likely in 203 BC." Zuntz returned to the subject in Zuntz 1963.

29 Cf. Bianchi 1976: 1–2, who, pointing also to Homer's almost complete silence about Dionysos and Demeter, would distinguish mystery gods from "normal" gods; he refers in this connection to Plutarch's distinction between gods and daimons, who suffer changes and vicissitudes (*De Iside* 25; *De E apud Delphos* 9). On p. 5 he writes "the gods of the Mysteries are gods subject to vicissitude. They are subjects and objects of a series of vicissitudes which causes painful events like "death" or loss to be followed by happy events like renewal of life and re-discovery of the lost."

30 Clinton 1986.

31 For this reconstruction of the *HHDionysos* (the first in the collection), cf. West 2001 and id. 2011.

A plethora of salacious *hieroi logoi* in mystery cults is found in Clement of Alexandria's *Protreptikos*. True, he had every reason to pick out the worst and most degrading features of mystery cult in order to claim the moral high ground for Christianity, but I feel reluctant to dismiss his revelations as inventions. Fantasizing about Greek mystery cults would not have won him any converts, as many knew the truth. The stories he divulges involve much violence and rape. He says that the Mysteries of Deo, the Mother, told how Zeus raped his own mother, who became pregnant and bore Kore. Zeus proceeded to rape her, too. Confirmation of the rape of Deo/Demeter by Zeus comes unequivocally as early as the fourth c. BC in the Derveni Papyrus.[32] The Mysteries of Dionysos, according to Clement, involved the dismembering of Dionysos by the Titans to be reassembled by Athena and Apollo following a cannibalistic cooking ceremony by the Titans.[33] The Eleusinian Mysteries revolve, according to Clement, around a sacred narrative of Deo's arrival in Eleusis in search of her daughter, in mourning. One of the Eleusinian *gēgeneis*, "earth-born," Baubo, offers her a refreshing drink, the *kykeōn*, which Demeter refuses, being in mourning. Baubo then exhibits herself, particularly her genitals, and there is talk of a baby boy, too, Iakchos. The sight pleases Deo, she smiles and accepts the *kykeōn*.[34] Clement expects to draw an indignant tut-tutting from his readers through this revelation of the impropriety of Eleusinian myth, and, indeed, adherents of the cult may well have felt shame at this exposure.

Returning to Lykurgos, one may ask whether he is not, as it were, one of the props in Dionysos' mysteries, a man who suffers flagellation by Dionysos' followers, madness which causes him to kill his own family, strangulation by the god's own vine, and further persecution in the underworld. His experience may be not only an *exemplum abhorrendum*, designed to keep initiates of the Dionysiac thiasos on the straight and narrow, but may also, in some sense, represent stages of initiation into the god's cult, albeit in an extreme and negative sense. It has been well pointed out by Susan Cole (and others) that Dionysiac madness has, as it were, two faces.[35] There is the beneficial madness which involves complicity in Bacchic revels, allowing the soul to participate in the *orgia*—θιασεύεται ψυχήν, as Euripides expresses it in the *Bacchae* (75)—and there is the terrible destructive madness which befalls those who resist the god's advances. Examples of such destructive madness, a kind of "bad trip" in experiencing the god's magic, are found among women and men: King Proitos'

32 *Protreptikos* 2.15–17; see Furley 2012: 233–251.

33 *Protreptikos* 2.17.2–18.2; cf. Robertson 2003.

34 *Protreptikos* 2.20.1–21.2.

35 Cole 2007: esp. 329–331.

daughters, the women of Thebes with Agave who rend Pentheus; on the male side Pentheus and, precisely, Lykurgos.[36]

Lykurgos is the centre-piece of a mosaic from Djemila-Cuicul in N. Africa dating perhaps to 135 AD. He is shown wielding his double-ax and about to strike down a cringing woman, perhaps his wife, more probably the nymph Ambrosia—who was turned by the god into a vine to escape Lykurgos' violence. The surrounding panels show other Dionysiac motifs, in particular the unveiling of the *liknon* containing a phallus, at which a female figure recoils in horror.[37] Leschi, the original publisher of the mosaic, Nilsson in his book on the Dionysiac Mysteries and Dunbabin all see in the iconography of the mosaic themes of Dionysiac initiation.[38] Dunbabin considers the hypothesis that this room was in fact used for initiation "highly attractive." It would be a "rare case," she says, of a floor mosaic being in tune with the room's explicit function. The scene of Lykurgos attempting to butcher Ambrosia marks him as an enemy of the god, and captures the moment just before Dionysos' vengeance—when the vine entangles and throttles him.[39] This is the demise of Lykurgos, rather than his scourging.

The scenes of Dionysiac initiation from the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii contain on one panel a scene of flagellation: a woman looking fairly abject on the ground is about to be struck, it seems, by a winged figure wielding a lash.[40] In discussing this scene Seaford adduces further evidence to show that flagellation—whether real or threatened—seems to have constituted an element of initiation into Dionysos' mysteries.[41] If that is the case the scourging of Lykurgos may be both illustrative of initiation *and* an *exemplum* of the fate of enemies of the god. He suffers, as it were, an extreme fate in the hands of Dionysos and his attendants as punishment for defying the god, and does not survive the chastisement. An initiate, on the other hand, by bowing to the god's

36 Cole 2007: 330; Robertson 2003: 227–229.

37 Dunbabin 1978: 179 sees in this scene an "evident allusion to the ceremony" sc. of initiation.

38 See Leschi 1935–1936. For Picard's dating to approximately 135 AD see Dunbabin 1978: 178; Nilsson 1975: 112–115; Leschi 1935–1936: 159–161 suggests that Psyche, representing the human soul generally, is being shown the symbol of the Dionysiac mysteries, a phallus in a liknon.

39 Dunbabin 1978: 179 writes: "the point of the central scene must be to illustrate the punishment of the enemies of Dionysos. It seems a little out of place in the context of the other scenes, but presumably alludes to the fate reserved for the uninitiated as a contrast to the salvation of the initiates illustrated by the rest of the pavement."

40 Among the sizeable literature on the Pompeii fresci see Baldwin 1996; Hearnshaw 1999.

41 Seaford 1981. For a figurative interpretation cf. Burkert 1990, who talks of the "lash of Lyssa."

will, like the female initiate in the Villa of the Mysteries, survives his or her ordeal and becomes, hopefully, a *bakchos*.

The fates of enemies of the god such as Lykurgos and Pentheus seem, as I said, to illustrate a kind of "bad trip" in the cult: they refuse to go along with the god's cult and are punished with a fatal dose of Dionysiac madness. It is interesting in the Tbilisi hymn how Lykurgos' punishment is accompanied by an epiphany of the god. He sees the god approaching in full glory (18 μέγα κυδαίνοντος), accompanied by intense flashes of lightning and peals of thunder (16–17 ἀστεροπαῖς ... βροντῆισι θαμείαις). This is indeed Dionysos Bromios appearing to him. Similarly in the *Bakchai* Pentheus is punished by undergoing a fatal initiation into Bacchic rites. Pentheus' Dionysiac madness is further illustrated on the magnificent bronze krater from Derveni.[42] He brandishes a dagger with the intention perhaps of killing a child which is held by its ankle before him by a maenad.[43] Perhaps we may rationalise the myths of Lykurgos and Pentheus in Dionysiac ritual as terrifying examples of how *not* to undergo initiation.[44]

It is in Lykurgos' destructive madness that the closest link with the ritual madness of Dionysiac initiation can be detected. In the poem Lykurgos is first struck dumb by the devastation and force unleashed by the god's epiphany. Then Dionysos sends madness personified (Lyssa) upon him, in which state Lykurgos imagines he is battling snakes. In a respite of the madness his family come to his side. Madness siezes him again and he kills his sons, taking them for snakes, as they try to help him; his wife is only spared death by the god because she had tried to pacify Lykurgos' *theomania*. Then, the poet concluded, "when madness cleared, he recognized the god" (45–50). In this restored clarity of perception, however, Dionysos completed his punishment by casting vines round him, which throttled him to death.

Myths of madness in those who come in contact with Dionysos are widespread, as we have already noted above. Ritual madness is more difficult to pin down, as these were mysteries, not to be divulged. In Corybantic ritual we hear of divine possession affecting participants, leading them to dance ecstatically. Menander's play *Theophoroumene* has as its eponymous figure a woman gripped by Corybantic enthusiasm who is induced to dance by music from suit-

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42 See Barr-Sharrar 2008. Bowden 2010: plate 16 also has a splendid illustration.

43 The publisher of the vase identifies the figure as Pentheus although Susan Cole refers to him as Lykurgos: Cole 2007: 338. For the "partnership in crime" of Pentheus and Lykurgos see Ovid, *Met.* 4.22–23: *Penthea ... bipenni ferumque Lycurgum / sacrilegos*.

44 See Herodotus 4.79 for the disastrous case of Skyles who wished to become a Bacchic initiate.

ably metroac instruments.[45] Plato describes a ritual associated with this cult in which an initiate (or perhaps a mental patient) is seated on a "throne" and then cult followers make an almighty Corybantic din with their instruments around him.[46] Abnormal, wild, behaviour was a standard attribute of followers of Bakchos, Kybele or the Great Mother, as well as in more minor cults such as those of Sabazios or Kotyto.[47] Already in Aristophanes we hear of the "women's madness" involving dancing on rooftops and cries of "Sabazios."[48] The Roman edict in 186 BC designed to stem Bacchanalian excesses is well known from Livy.[49]

Similarly the snakes encountered by Lykurgos in his delusional madness can be related to snake-handling in Dionysiac and related initiations. This is a prominent feature of Demosthenes' denigration of his rival Aischines who as a boy, the former alleges, assisted his mother in private initiations and handled snakes as part of the cult rigmarole.[50] Bowden has a fascinating section on modern snake-handling rites in Pentecostal Christianity which, he says, seem immediately comparable to the snake-handling rites in ancient Bacchantism.[51] Although his testimony should always be treated with caution, Clement points to the central role of snakes in Bacchic mysteries:

> The Initiates of Bakchos celebrate a raving Dionysos whereby they induce their sacred madness with *ōmophagia* and accomplish their rending of the sacrificial victims with snakes bound round their heads, crying out their ritual call "Euan, Euan," accompaniment to their ritual wandering. Indeed, the holy sign of the Bacchic mysteries is a consecrated snake.[52]

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45 For a discussion of the papyrus fragments of the play see Handley 1969; Nervegna 2010.

46 Plato, *Euthyd.* 277d, cf. Bowden 2010: 91; Linforth 1946. The rite is called θρόνησις, "enthronement."

47 Aeschylus seems to have described the "madness-inducing racket" of Kotyto's cult (μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμοκλάν) in his *Ēdonai*: see Strabo 10.3.16 = *TGF* III 178–179 Radt. For Kotyto/Kotto/Kotys see Lozanova-Stancheva 1995.

48 *Lysistrata* 387–398. For a discussion see Furley 1992.

49 Livy 39.8–13; cf. Bowden 2010: 124–129.

50 Dem. 18.259–260; cf. Bowden 2010: 138.

51 Bowden 2010: 217–220. On 218: "The loud rhythmic music, the dancing and the snakes are all features of Bacchic cult; so too is the autonomy of each worshipping group," then on 220, quoting Burton 1993: 134, he writes: "'Serpent-handlers may be said to be achieving an epiphany, that is, an intuitive grasp of reality, a perception of the essential nature or the meaning of themselves, religion, and God.' This is approaching the kind of experience we have found in mystery cults." For a depiction of snake-handling combined with ecstatic dance in the ancient cult of the Great Mother see ibid. fig. 63–65

52 *Protr.* 2.12.2 Διόνυσον μαινόλην ὀργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ὠμοφαγίᾳ τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελί-

There is, indeed, evidence that Lykurgos himself becomes a kind of initiate in Dionysos' cult, albeit a reluctant one initially who suffers all manner of tribulations before finally bowing to the god's power. Thus in Nonnos' *Dionysiaka*, Bk. 21 (probably a fifth-century work), Lykurgos is fettered by Ambrosia-turned-vine, scourged by Dionysos' Bakchai, robbed by Rhea's destruction of his kingdom by earth tremors, driven senseless by thunder and lightning until finally an unidentified female figure appears and rescues him. Zeus makes him wander the earth as a lesson to other mortals not to offend Dionysos. Finally he receives cult in Arabia.[53] In short Lykurgos becomes an ambivalent figure in Dionysos' cult. On the one hand he opposes the god's *thiasos* and receives cruel punishment for that; on the other he becomes emblematic of the cult, a kind of devil's advocate, whose story finally helps cement Dionysos' authority. Lykurgos' madness is the horrifying mythical extreme of ritual madness, that heightened state of awareness, Greek *ekstasis*, to which participants in orgiastic cults aspire.[54] The violence of myth can be seen perhaps as a kind of narrative shock-treatment designed to shake a recipient's mental equilibrium and facilitate a new state of receptiveness.

This raises the possibility that the narrative sequence of the myth somehow reflects stages in the ritual, that the myth may be a kind of script for initiation.[55] The fear and desolation experienced by Lykurgos, his physical punishment by the Maenads and the madness inflicted by Dionysos, all culminating in a clearing of the senses and vision of the god, might be placed in parallel with an initiate's experience. Narrative sequence becomes a programme for mental experience.[56] The suggestive power of narrative, working through pictures of one human's suffering, has a psychogogic effect on listeners. In this way Lykur-

σκουσι τὰς κρεονομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστεμμένοι τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὐάν, Εὔαν ἐκείνην, δι' ἥν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησεν· καὶ σημεῖον ὀργίων βακχικῶν ὄφις ἐστὶ τετελεσμένος. Bowden 2010: 206–207 urges caution in using Clement's testimony, but other points—the *ōmophagia, sparagmos*, snakes around the head, are confirmed by other sources.

53 Note the "initiation" of Dionysos himself following persecution by Hera: Schol. Lykophron 273; Schol. Homer *Il.* 6.131 A; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.34.

54 For a sympathetic account see Bowden 2010.

55 It would help greatly, of course, if we could reconstruct the ritual sequence in Dionysiac iconography such as the Villa of the Mysteries; but nothing like consensus exists concerning the interpretation of the individual panels or the sequence in which they should be "read." For some relevant literature see above n. 38–39

56 One recalls Aristotle's remark that initiation in the Mysteries involves not so much learning as experiencing something: Synesius Dion. 10 p. 271 Krab. (cf. Dio Chrys. *or.* 12.33 ff.): καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τελουμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, δηλονότι γενομένους ἐπιτηδείους, with Burkert 1990: 58 with n. 12.

gos' story becomes a model for the desired ritual transformation. One should not imagine the hymn being recited or sung simultaneously, like a score, with ritual; rather, the narrative, recited at some stage of the ritual, establishes a pattern in the initiates' mind while they celebrate the god's festival. Similarly, Callimachus' sixth hymn pretends to accompany ritual but a precise synchronization of poetical "real time" with the procession of Demeter's basket would be hard to achieve.

Perhaps in this context we can assimilate another case of a myth similar to that of Lykurgos and Pentheus, of a human who offends a god connected with mystery rites and is sorely punished for it. Erysichthon—whose story was known already to the author of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*—offended Demeter by chopping down trees in her sacred grove.[57] Callimachus tells the story in detail in his sixth *Hymn to Demeter*.[58] A white poplar about to receive the chop utters a cry of distress, which Demeter responds to. In the shape of her priestess Nikinna she tries to warn Erysichthon against the sacrilege, just as Kytis tries to restrain her raving husband Lykurgos. But Erysichthon does not listen. He tells the goddess he needs the wood to equip a banqueting hall, and proceeds, with his attendants, to fell the trees. Demeter punishes him with a raging hunger which he cannot still, however much he eats. In the *Catalogue* we hear of how he sells his own daughter Mestra to pay for food to eat, a kind of sacrifice of his child analogous to the killing of Lykurgos' children. We note also how Dionysos is said to join Demeter in punishing Erysichthon: "what angers Demeter," comments Callimachus, "angers Dionysos, too" (70–71). Moreover, the narrative begins by saying that Demeter loves this particular sacred grove of trees as much as Eleusis and Henna in Sicily (29–30). The narrative itself is embedded in the performative context of a ritual procession for Demeter in which her sacred basket, *kalathos*, is paraded around. One feels that the kalathos is analogous to the *liknon* in Dionysiac mysteries. In short, I suggest that in this hymn Callimachus has taken a *hieros logos* of mystery rites for Demeter and Dionysos and embellished it as a literary work. If this is right, we can see in Erysichthon a fig-

57 Hesiod fr. 43a M-W, with Merkelbach 1968: 134–135.

58 Cf. McKay 1962; Mueller 1987; Cassin 1987: 95–121, who links the myth with Demeter's festival Thesmophoria; Cassin recognizes the paradigmatic status of Erysichthon with respect to Demeter Thesmophoria, without mentioning her mysteries. Against a cultic background to the story: Henrichs 1979; Robertson 1984, sees a quite different ritual background, namely in ritual begging at Athens. Bulloch 1977: 99–101 notes the similarity between Callimachus' account and other narratives of Dionysus' punishment of transgression, especially *Homeric Hymn* 7 to Dionysus: cf. Faulkner 2011c: 180.

ure analogous to Lykurgos as someone who did violence to the sacred mysteries of a god and suffered as a result. As Callimachus concludes his hymn: don't let me be friends with anyone like Erysichthon, who is enemy to Demeter!

Appendix: Text of Hymn[59]

ϲάτ]υ̣ροι φιλοπ[α]ί̣[γμονε]ϲ ἐ̣ξεγένοντο
]ην κρήνη νάεν οὐ̣δ᾽ ἔϲαν ἀρδμοί,
θρι]γκοί, οὐ δένδρεα, πάντα δ᾽ ἄ̣ϊϲ[τ]α̣,
πλ]α̣ταμὼν λ[εῖ]οϲ πάλιν ἐξεφαάν̣[θη.] . ροϲ
]ε̣ϲκε παρῆν ἆϲϲον Λυκόοργοϲ
]ει βεβολημένοϲ ἀμφαϲίῃ τε·
]α πάντα καὶ ἀνδ[ρ]άϲιν οὐκ ἐπ̣ι‹ε›ικ̣τὰ
μ]ετατράπετ᾽ ἀμφα̣[δὸν] ἔργα.
] . Διὸϲ [γό]νον ἀγλα̣[ὸν ὄ]ντα,
] . ῶ χλω̣[ρ]ὸν δέοϲ [. . . .]πονεῖ[το
]βουπλ[ὴξ] χε̣ρ̣ὸϲ ἄντ̣`α´[[ι]] ποδοῖιν
]α̣ι ἔποϲ [ἤ]θ̣ε̣λ̣εν ο̣ὐδ᾽ ἐρέεϲθ[αι.]
]χ̣α δειλὸϲ ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα κελαινή̣[ν] κ̣ . [.]τ̣αιην
]δ̣έη`ϲε´[[μ]] θεὸν μήν{ε}ιμα μεθεῖναι.
]ε̣ουϲαν ἐῷ [π]ροτ̣[ιό]ϲ̣ϲατο θυμῶι,
ἐλ]θόντα μετ᾽ ἀϲ̣[τε]ροπ[α]ῖ̣ϲ Διόνυϲον,
ϲ]ελάγιζον ὑπ̣[ὸ] βρ̣[ον]τ̣ῇϲι θαμείαιϲ
ἔργ᾽ ἀ]ΐ̣δηλα Δι[ὸ]ϲ μέγα κυδαίνοντοϲ.
Διόν]υϲοϲ ὀπάοναϲ, ο`ἵ´ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὁμαρτῇ
θ]ύϲθλοιϲιν χλοεροῖϲιν ἐπαΐϲϲοντεϲ ἔ̣θει̣νον.
ἔ̣ϲτη δ᾽ ἀϲτε[μ]φὴϲ πέτρη`ι´ ἴϲοϲ, ἥ ῥά τε προ[βλὴ]ϲ
εἰ]ϲ̣ ἅλα μαρμαρέην ϲτεναχίζεται, ἥν τιϲ ἀη̣[τ]ῶν
ὀρ]νύμενοϲ πνεύϲῃ, θείνοντά ‹τε› κύματα μίμ[νει.
ὣ]ϲ ὅγε θεινόμ̣ε̣νοϲ μέ̣[νε]ν̣ ἔμπεδον οὐ[δ᾽ ἀ]λ̣έγιϲϲ̣[εν.
μ]ᾶλλον δ᾽ ἀ[ζη]χ̣ὴϲ ἐνε̣[δύ]ετο παῖδα Θυ[ώνη]ϲ
μ]ηνιθμὸϲ κραδίην, κραιπνῷ δέ μιν οὔ τ̣[ι] μενοίν[α]
α̣ἱ̣ρήϲειν θανάτῳ, δο[λιχ]α[ῖϲ] δ᾽ ἄταιϲιν ἐρ̣[είκ]ει̣[ν,]
ἀργαλέην ἵνα τῖϲιν ἔτι ζώων ἀποτίϲῃ.
ῷ̣ρ[ϲ]ε δ[έ] ο[ἱ] [μα]νίην, ὀ̣φίων δ᾽ ἰνδαλμὸν [ἔ]χ[ε]υ̣[ε]ν,

59 I reproduce here the text printed in Furley 2007.

ὄφρ᾽ἀπαλεξή[ϲ]ων τρίβῃ χρόνον ἄχριϲ [ὀλο]ιὴ
φήμη τ[ῆ]ϲ μα[ν]ἱ̣ηϲ πτηνὴ Θήβην ἀφίκ[η]ται,
Ἄρδυ̣ν τ᾽ Ἀϲ̣[τ]άκιόν τε δύω π[αῖ]δα[ϲ] καλέουϲα
καὶ Κύτιν ἥ οἱ γή⟨μ⟩ατ᾽ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃ \`ι´ϲι δαμεῖϲ[α.] κλιθεῖϲα
οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀφίκοντο πολυγλώϲϲου̣ δ̣ι̣ὰ̣ φήμη[ϲ,
ἄρτι νέον λ̣ήγοντα πόνου κιχέτην [Λυ]κ̣[ό]οργον
τρυόμενον μα[νίηι], περὶ δ᾽ αὐτῷ χεῖρ᾽ ἐβ[ά]λοντο,
κείμενο[ν] ἐν κ[ο]νίῃ, μέγα νήπ̣ι̣[οι·] ἦ γὰρ ἔ̣[με]λλον ἐν δαπέδῳ
φθίϲεϲθ[αι] ὑπὸ πατρὸϲ ἐναντίον ὄμμαϲι̣ μ̣ητρόϲ.
οὐ γὰρ δὴν πάλι Λύϲ̣ϲα κελεύοντοϲ Διονύϲου
ὀ̣ρθῆιϲ[ιν μ]ανί̣ηιϲιν ἀνήγειρεν Λυκόοργον.
φ̣ῆ δ᾽ὄφ[ια]ϲ θείνειν, τεκέων δ᾽ ἐξείλατο θυμόν. κτείν[ειν]
κ]αί νύ κ̣[εν] ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοῖϲι Κύτιϲ πέϲεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλε[α]ίρων
ἥ]ρπαξε[ν] Διόνυϲοϲ, ἔθηκε δὲ νόϲφιν ὀλ̣[έ]θρ̣[ου,
οὕ]ν̣εκα̣ [μ]αργαίνοντι παραίφαϲ̣ιϲ ἐμμ̣ενὲϲ ἦ[ε]ν̣.
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ π[αῦ]εν ἄθελκτ̣ο̣[ν] ἐὸν πόϲιν, ὅ̣ϲ [ῥα λυ]θ̣ε̣ί̣[ϲη]ϲ̣
λα]ιψ[ηρῆϲ] μανίηϲ π⟨ε⟩ίρῃ παθέων θεὸ̣ν ἔ̣[γν]ῳ̣.
ἀλλ᾽[οὔ] θ̣[η]ν̣ Διόνυϲοϲ ἐ̣[παύε]το μηνιθμ[οῖο,
ἀ]τ[ρέ]μα δ᾽ ἐ]ϲτειῶτι δυη[πα]θίῃ τ᾽ ἀλύοντι
ἄ]μ̣π̣[ελον] ἀμφὶ[ϲ] ἔχ̣ευ̣ε̣[[ν]] καὶ ἄψεα πάντ᾽ ἐ̣π̣[έδη]ϲ[ε.
ϲ̣τεινό[με]νοϲ δὲ δέρη̣ν̣ [δο]ι̣ο̣ὺ̣ϲ θ᾽ ἑκάτερθ̣ε̣ τ̣[ένονταϲ
οἴκτιϲτ̣[ο]ν κάμεν οἶτον ἐπιχθονίων ἀ[ν]θ[ρώπων.
καὶ νῦν ἂ̣γ χῶρον τὸν δυϲ[ϲ]εβέων εἴδωλο̣ν
ὁ]τλε̣[ύ]ε̣[ι] κ̣[ά]μ̣ατον τὸν ἀνήνυτον ἐϲ πίθον ἀν[τλ]ῶ̣ν
ῥω]γαλέο̣[ν], τ̣ὸ δὲ πολλὸν ἐϲ Ἄϊδοϲ ἔκχυται ὕδ[ω]ρ.
τοίην[οὖν] ἐρίδ[ου]ποϲ̣ ἐπεκράανε Κρον{ε}ίων
ἀνδρ[άϲ]ι̣ θ[ε]ιομάχοιϲι̣ δίκην, ἵνα τῖ̣ϲιϲ [ἕ]π̣ητ[αι
ἀ̣[μ]φότερον ζωοῖϲ̣ιν ἀτὰρ πάλι τεθνηῶϲι.
ὧν θεῶν ὧν
α̣[ὐ]τ̣οῦ[[ϲ]] του̣ ϲχέο· τῆϲ̣δε καλέϲ⟨ϲ⟩αι θεοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἀοιδῆϲ,
[ὧν]
59 ἧϲ κ]ύ̣ρ̣ει τόδ[ε ἦμ]αρ ἐπιπλομένων λυκαβάντων.

After this five lines follow which were written vertically in the free space between column three and the edge of the papyrus (according to Zereteli, a space of eight centimetres). The last three (at least) are not hexameters; whether the first two are or not is questionable. I guess (with Zereteli) that the first two constitute the last two lines of the hymn; the last three contain notes of some sort, perhaps on the performance of the hymn. I number them consecutively to the hymn.

λείβε̣ι̣ν̣ α̣ι̣θ̣[....
..νηϲ.ν̣[....
τὰ πρὸ τούτων [....
ἵνα τὸ ποίημ̣[α...
......λ̣εωϲ [....

I give a full *Apparatus Criticus* in Furley 2007.

Translation of Hymn

... from whom] the playful satyrs descended.
... no] spring gushed nor were there streams,
... no] lintels, no trees, all was wiped
from sight and a featureless plain appeared again.
Where ? ? was before] Lykurgos drew near
and was struck [by fear] and speechlessness.
All was [terrible], unbearable for man,
...] the lands were changed utterly.
... he recognized] that Zeus' son was glorious.
Livid fear [overcame him], [and while he] laboured,
...] the axe [fell] from his hand before his feet
and he was unable to utter] a word or speak at all.
Perhaps then] the wretch had avoided sombre fate,
but it was not] to be that god's wrath ceased.
He sensed in his mind impending [fate]
when he saw] Dionysos approach with lightning
which] flashed to repeated claps of thunder
as Zeus glorified [his son's] destructive work.
Dionysos egged on his company, who, in concert,
struck with their fresh cult branches in attack.
He stood unflinching like a rock which, jutting
in the sparkling sea, sounds when a storm wind
starts to blow, braced against the lashing waves.
So he withstood their blows and took no notice.
All the more virulently rage gripped the heart
of Thyone's son; and he resolved to kill him
by no quick death but with long drawn out agony
so that, living, he would pay a terrible price.
He set madness on him, sent an illusion of snakes,

so that, fighting these, he'd give time for word
of his madness fatefully to fly to Thebes
and summon his two sons Ardys and Astakios
and Kytis, who submitted to his marital embrace.
When they came in response to multiple report,
they found Lykurgos in remission from the pain,
reduced by madness. They threw their arms around him
where he lay in the dust—poor fools, for they would
be killed by their father before their mother's eyes.
On the orders of Dionysos Lyssa did not wait long
but visited Lykurgos with an acute attack of madness.
Taking them for snakes he took his children's life.
And Kytis would have died with them but in pity
Dionysos rescued her, took her from harm's way,
for she had tried to stop her husband's folly
but without success. When the acute madness
left, he recognized, through suffering, the god.
But Dionysos' rage did not abate at all.
Standing there unmoved and suffering from pain,
he cast a vine around him, bound all his joints.
Strangled round the neck and its two tendons,
he died the most pitiful death of all mortals.
Even now, in the abode of sinners, a shadow,
he suffers the unceasing toil of filling a broken
jar, while most water drains away to hell.
This punishment the mighty thunderer Zeus
decreed for enemies of gods, that punishment
should be their lot, in life as well as death.
these hymns gods
Take this to heart! Call to this hymn of god
are
which is due this day in the seasons' course.

CHAPTER 7

Narrative Technique and Generic Hybridity in Aelius Aristides' Prose Hymns

*O. Hodkinson**

1 Introduction

Aelius Aristides' *Orations* 37–46, the "prose hymns," are so called because they explicitly refer to themselves as *hymnoi*, as "hymning" the gods, or use other cognate terms (*Orr*. 37.1; 41.9; 43.2; 44.2; 45.34; 46.31, 32);[1] this, together with their following of a structure and forms of expression common to several poetic hymns, indicate that Aristides—also the author of some (sadly lost) poetic hymns[2]—was composing in the relatively new form of hymns in prose. They are a generic hybrid, belonging as much to epideictic, encomiastic oratory as to hymns;[3] Aristides self-consciously experiments with different ways in which the hymnic and oratorical genres can be combined, and may well have been the first to compose prose hymns on such a scale.[4] The hymns have yet to be

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1 On the terms prose hymn and hymn as applied to Aristides and employed by his contemporaries see Goeken 2012: 25–39, with further references p. 25 n. 1; 75–97; Russell 1990 with further refs. p. 199 n. 1; Devlin 1994: 228–239 on the form, possible predecessors for Aristides, and rhetorical handbooks' prescriptions for prose hymns. Text used: Keil 1898. Translations are cited from Behr 1986, adapted as necessary. See Furley and Bremer 2001: 48–49 on prose hymns (also outside the strictly Greek setting). Goeken 2012: 25–32 discusses the presence and absence respectively of *hymnos*-derived terms in the prose hymns, and convincingly demonstrates that even those not explicitly referring to themselves with *hymnos*-derived terms were likely considered as hymns and as part of a corpus of prose hymns by the author himself.

2 See Goeken 2012: 66–73 for the lost verse hymns and their place in Aristides' career.

3 See Goeken 2012: 87–111 and esp. 113–168; Russell and Wilson 1981: xxxiv, Hardie 1983: 91–102, for the relation between, and mixing of, epideictic oratory and poetry in prose hymns.

4 See Hardie 1983 *loc. cit.*

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analysed in narratological terms,[5] and I will argue that undertaking such an analysis is fruitful both for our understanding of Aristides' experimentation with this hybrid form, and for appreciating better his engagement with the formal and structural conventions employed by earlier authors in the Greek hymnic tradition. As a highly accomplished sophistic author of numerous orations with more usual generic traits, Aristides was naturally adept both at following the rhetorical handbooks' prescriptions for structuring an oration, and at deviating from them or innovating within the form when his purposes required it. As a hymnographer both in poetry and in prose, and an Imperial Greek author coming late in the tradition, he can be seen to bring his rhetorical training to bear in thinking about the narrative techniques and narratological structures of the most famous earlier composers of hymns. It is clear that Aristides thought very deliberately about the question of combining the conventional templates of the two types of work and the prescriptions of rhetorical handbooks for prose hymns;[6] this emerges very clearly through a narratological analysis of aspects of the prose hymns, and comparison with such analyses of classical models both for orations and for hymns.[7]

The prose hymns and their divine addressees are as follows:

Or. 37 *Athena*
Or. 38 *The Sons of Asclepius*
Or. 39 *The Well of Asclepius*
Or. 40 *Heracles*
Or. 41 *Dionysus*
Or. 42 *Asclepius*
Or. 43 *Zeus*
Or. 44 *The Aegean Sea*

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5 Unlike some of Aristides' works, notably the *Sacred Tales*: Pearcy 1988; Castelli 1999; Whitmarsh 2004b; Korenjak 2005; Schmitz 2013.

6 On these, Devlin 1994: 230–239; the surviving examples which pre-date Aristides' prose hymns, Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.6–9 and Alexander Noumeniou (III.4–6 Spengel), list topics for praise of gods, but no prescriptions for the structure of a hymn-oration.

7 I am aware of course that the hymn-orations are not narrative texts in the same sense that epic or novels are, and that analysis in narratological terms might therefore be seen as problematic in some respects; as will be seen, however, there are are some striking differences between the hymns in the author's treatment of the author-figure/narrator/speaker, of the hymned god/entity/narratee, and of the oration audience/human narratees, which emerge from such an analysis.

Or. 45 *Sarapis*
Or. 46 *Poseidon*

As can be seen from the addressees, Aristides enters into the Hellenistic and later tradition, beginning with Callimachus' *Hymns*, of including some unusual addressees in his collection alongside more conventional objects of praise.[8] In terms of oratory, Aristides' hymns are epideictic orations of the encomiastic (praising) type, of course. There are already many similarities in Greek literature before Aristides between strategies for praising gods and those for praising people or other entities; Aristides brings the two genres closer together and intermixes them in a way which develops a pattern of its own.

The occasions of Aristides' delivery of some of the hymn-orations are known to us:[9] they are real orations like his others, not (merely) literary exercises in splicing two genres. This makes them unusual *qua* hymns transmitted in the literary tradition, for which we do not often know the details of the precise occasion or setting of the performance. In analysing their narrative structure, we begin with these observations: Aristides' hymns are designed to be performed as orations; they have an overt primary narrator (in the original performance firmly identified with Aristides himself, physically present and reading to the original audience; in the textual representation of that performance, Aristides as author-figure is similarly identified as the primary narrator, textually overt in his presence); they have two sets of narratees—the oration's audience, and the god or other hymned entity.

11 Structural Models

Before analysing Aristides' hymn-orations in more detail, I offer here a summary narratological and structural analysis of conventional examples of his two primary generic models, the oration and the verse hymn. These sketches necessarily contain generalisations to which there are many exceptions in both genres, and it is not my wish to present a simplistic view of either genre; but there are generic conventions or patterns of which our author was evidently aware, certainly consciously in the case of orations, and probably too in the case of hymns.

8 See also Mesomedes' eclectic range of addressees, with Brumbaugh's contribution to this volume.

9 See Goeken 2012: 45–56 with his first table on p. 69.

a *The Structure of an Oration*[10]

The basic structure of an oration is as follows:[11]

A) Proem (*prooimion*)
B) Narrative (*diegesis*)
C) Proof (*pistis*)
D) Epilogue (*epilogos*) = peroration (*peroratio*)

As Edwards notes,[12] narration can occur in more than just one block, being instead interspersed with argumentation, complicating this basic structure; narration can also occur in other sections, especially during (C) the proof. The variety in classical oratory is of course immense, but at this macro-structural level, admittedly cruder than the analysis of hymns below because of the smaller sample in the latter case, it is fairly consistent.

There is one narrator, the orator, who can be external or internal;[13] he is frequently overt (especially in parts A and C–D, as might be expected, but also in B, commenting on his narrative and its strategies). The primary narratees, the audience, are overt, being frequently addressed and referred to directly (again especially in A and C–D but also in B, for example when the narrator interjects with direct appeals to their knowledge or experience).[14] The use of the second person in orations is thus most commonly the second person plural, of the audience/narratees, but in some cases there can also be a particular individual addressee referred to in the second person—most obviously in relation to hymns, in panegyric oratory, in which the individual narratee and the audience as narratees coexist as overt narratees, both at times being addressed or referred to directly.

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10 See the glossary to this volume, pp. VIII–IX for narratological terms used. See Devlin 1994: 233–237 on the assimilation of traditional oration- and hymn-structure in [Menander Rhetor] 437.5–446.13.

11 Based on Edwards 2004.

12 2004: 317–318.

13 In forensic oratory, depending on whether he is presenting his own case and narrating events that occurred to him or not: Edwards 2004: 319.

14 Edwards 2004 illustrates the variety of techniques across the several classical orators, but the essentials are very similar.

b *The Structure of a Hymn*

The basic structure of a Greek literary hymn is as follows:[15]

A) (Proem) Narrator (external) introduces …
B) Subject matter
C) Relative pronoun begins …
D) Primary story
E) Epilogue/farewell: narrator addresses god (primary, internal narratee)

This precise structure fits the *Homeric Hymns* (in any case a more uniform group in narratological terms) better than those of Callimachus, but in both, the narrator is typically overt at stages (A) and (E), and far less overt or completely covert in stages (B) – (D) (in the *Homeric Hymns* the narrator's presence is not felt at all in those middle sections; in Callimachean and other later hymns, it is felt to a greater or lesser extent in the middle sections but still less than in the outer sections).[16] After the *Homeric Hymns*, there is far more variation in the transitions between sections (A) – (D), and variation in the structure more generally, for example interjections (including apostrophes) breaking up the primary story.

The hymnic narrator is to a large extent identified with the author or singer, and is an external narrator, similar to the Homeric epics' narrator. The address to the god in section (E) and sometimes (A) shows us that the primary narratee is the god, who is thus an overt internal narratee; the second person appears in (E) and sometimes in (A), sandwiching the narrative, which either remains in the third person throughout or at leasts restricts the use of the second person to infrequent interjections. In most *Homeric Hymns*, the narrator only addresses the god directly in (E), thus retrospectively revealing the god as

15 Based on Nünlist 2004, Harder 2004, analysing the *Homeric Hymns* and Callimachus respectively. In the latter case we are concerned with the structure of the non-mimetic hymns, since Aristides' hymns are non-mimetic in the sense in which the term is used of Callimachus' hymns (on which see Albert 1988, and Bulloch 1985: 4–5, Hopkinson 1984: 37 both with further references; the "mimetic" hymns are 2, 5, and 6). I limit myself to consideration of the structure of the hymns of the literary tradition, Aristides' likely models for the hymnic side of his self-conscious generic hybrid; cult hymns have different conventional structures (see Furley and Bremer 2001: 14–20), but there is no attempt in Aristides' hymns to give even the illusion that they are texts of real cult hymns, because of the references to the narrator's status as orator and to the oration's setting and human audience.

16 See Harder 2004: 64. The exception to this is the *Hymn to Apollo*.

primary narratee. The hymn's audience/readers are its secondary narratees, and (outside mimetic hymns) remain entirely covert.[17]

III The Structure and Narratology of Aristides' Hymns

The structure of Aristides' hymn-orations takes aspects from both of these structures, which already have some similarities. From oratory, he dispenses with a formal "proof" section in the hymns as unnecessary; but there are nevertheless arguments made and points proven—for instance, that the hymned god is more worthy of praise than other gods (seen especially in the hymns to Zeus and Athena); such "proofs" take place within a broadly narrative middle section, rather than in a dedicated proof section. Otherwise the basic structure of an oration remains, except that the epilogue or peroration—unusually for an oration, but unsurprisingly for a hymn—is often in the form of an invocation or farewell.[18]

Aristides' hymns are thus structured in a simplified oration-structure, with three parts not four, and with the epilogue sometimes taking a more specifically hymnic form, as follows:

A) Proem
B) Narrative
C) Epilogue (= invocation: *Or.* 38, 40, or = farewell: *Or.* 41[19])

The central narrative sections (B) are very long, and contain not only narrative, but also arguments, retained from the oration genre; nor do they consist of only one primary story, or of a continuous narrative, but a mixture of narrative and other material. The outer sections (A) and (C), as is conventional for hymns, have a very overt presence of the narrator, who is to be identified with the author; but as is standard for orations—and for Aristides—the narrator does not keep a low profile at all in the central section (B).

There are some frequently recurring themes in Aristides' middle sections (B) which are also common to more conventional verse hymns:

17 The exception again is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* along with the mimetic hymns of Callimachus.

18 Behr's (1986: notes *ad init.* for each hymn) analyses of the orations are helpful but give the impression that some end without a formal epilogue.

19 These are Behr's (1986 *loc. cit.*) categorisations.

Theme	Present in *Or.*									
	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
Birth of the god	✓	✓		✓	✓					
Benefits conferred	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓
Deeds performed		✓		✓			✓			
Relationship to other gods	✓			✓	✓					
Powers/properties/titles	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Deification/divinity		✓		✓						
Location/geography			✓					✓		

The narrative sections, as in most but not all hymns, are narrated in the third person by an external narrator; also as in most hymns, the narratee is often the god or hymned entity, with an additional set of narratees consisting of the audience of the hymn-oration. In two cases, though (*Or.* 39 and 46), the human narratees are the only audience, and *not* the hymned deity, who remains referred to only in the third person. There is thus in these two hymns, uniquely for Greek hymns, a combination of an overt narratee who is not the hymned entity and a hymned entity which is never addressed directly (so remaining at most a covert narratee, intended to hear the oration but never formally acknowledged as doing so).

This brief analysis and comparison with Aristides' two generic models confirms that he blends typical features of the structures and narrative techniques of each, while making use of the similarities already present in the two genres. In the following sections I examine in more depth two of the most interesting features of these hymn-orations: first, the different groups of narratees used in different hymns, and second, the very strongly-felt presence of the overt narrator, Aristides' authorial persona, even in the central narrative sections (B).

IV The Narratees in Aristides' Hymns

In terms of narratees, Aristides' hymns fall into two very distinct categories—and in a surprising way. In most (*Or.* 37, 38, and 40–45), the hymned god or hymned entity *and* the audience of the oration are addressed directly and are thus overt narratees. As noted above, the latter part of this is unusual for hymns, but regular for orations, so that the use of narratees in these hymns combines the conventions of both genres by combining the overt narratees commonly

found in each genre. In the remaining two (*Or.* 39 and 46), the hymned entity is not addressed directly at all, and the only overt narratees are figures for the audience at Aristides' original performance (or subsequently for the readers of the text). These hymns are thus, in this respect at least, the least like conventional hymns and the most like orations. This difference between the two groups divided along these lines might be easily explicable if it were *Or.* 39 and 44, the hymns to the Well of Asclepius and the Aegean Sea, which did not address the hymned entity directly; one could understand a division in which Aristides addressed gods and heroes directly in hymns to them, but not the more unconventional hymn subjects, the sea and the well.[20] But instead, it is *Or.* 39 and 46: he avoids addressing the Well of Asclepius *and* Poseidon, but he does address the Aegean Sea in *Or.* 44.

Let us now look in detail at Aristides' narrative practices with regard to narratees in an example from each of the groups distinguished above—at the same time, an example of a hymn to a more conventional object of praise, a god, and one to a more unconventional object.

a *The Narratees of Or. 44 The Aegean Sea*

This hymn-oration is unconventional in its subject-matter, but as will be seen below, is in fact one of the most conventional in formal and technical terms in its treatment of narratees.

Section (A): The *Proem* (*Or.* 44.1–2)

In the *proem*, there is no overt narratee of any character. This is often the case in the equivalent opening sections (A–B) of earlier hymns, beginning with the *Homeric Hymns*, but this does not mean that there is no narratee/addressee, just that the narratee only becomes overt and thus revealed as addressee at the end of the hymn (see above, §II(b)). But in this case, the subject of the hymn, the Aegean Sea, is referred to in the third person, so that it is not a direct addressee, thus not an overt narratee:

20 Or, as Andrew Faulkner suggests, the opposite: the less conventional hymnic subjects might more naturally *not* be addressed as divinities are addressed in hymns, but then there would be little reason to identify them as hymns, which Aristides apparently wanted to do. On the other side of this division, *Poseidon* might not need such explicit markers of its hymnic status since Poseidon is a traditional deity, a hymn to whom is nothing unusual; but the fact remains that *Poseidon* stands out from most of the hymn-orations and alongside the *Well of Asclepius* in this respect, so that Aristides' treatment of primary narratees in his hymns is patterned in a way that cuts across, rather than conforms to, an obvious distinction in the nature of the hymned deities/entities.

> ... τῷ δὲ Αἰγαίῳ τὸ ὀφείλημα ἀποδώσομεν καὶ ὑμνήσομεν ...
>
> ... we shall pay back our debt to the Aegean and we shall praise it in our hymn ...

There is always an implication that the hymned entity is the addressee, of course, but here the Aegean remains very firmly in the covert narratee category. Nor is the oration's human audience directly addressed in this section, unlike the equivalent section in some of Aristides' hymns, so that we are not dealing with an example where the oration-like features have taken over from the hymn-like features.

Section (B): The *Narrative* (*Or.* 44.3–17)

In this section there is again no overt narratee. The hymned entity is not addressed using Du-Stil—indeed as Devlin notes, Aristides "never employs Du-Stil in the Narrative Section, thus following the trend of the *Homeric Hymns*."[21] The second person does occur, but exclusively in the singular, a generalising "you" which could as well be translated "one," while the sea is referred to in the third person as in (A):

> προκαταλύσαις δ᾽ ἂν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πελάγει τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐντύχοις ἂν καὶ γῇ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ χωρίοις ὥσπερ τισὶ μικραῖς ἠπείροις περιρρύτοις.
>
> You might stop your journey even in the midst of the sea and find land, cities, and countryside, as it were, little seagirt continents.
>
> 44.8

In his other hymns, Aristides frequently addresses the human audience directly in this section, rendering them overt narratees and thus playing up the oration over the hymnic genre in this respect; as Devlin puts it, "perhaps the most significant way in which the encomiastic epideictic tradition asserts itself in the prose hymns is in the attention paid to the orator's second, human audience."[22] Aristides' studious avoidance of this throughout the 15 chapters of *Or.* 44's narrative is thus remarkable.

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21 1994: 242.

22 1994: 240.

Section (c): The *Epilogue* (*Or.* 44.18)

Now for the first time Aristides addresses the Aegean Sea directly, rendering it an overt narratee and confirming its implicit status as the primary narratee throughout:

> ταῦτά σοι παρ' ἡμῶν, ὦ φίλε σωτὴρ Αἰγαῖε, ᾔσθω τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μουσικῇ. σὺ δὲ ἡσθεὶς σῶζε ἀεὶ σαυτόν τε καὶ σύμπλους.
>
> Let this be our song to you, O dear saviour Aegean, sung in our form of music. But do you, if you are pleased, ever preserve me myself and my sailing companions.
>
> 44.18

Note then that this hymn fits perfectly the classic narrative structure which we first find in the *Homeric Hymns*: the first section only introduces the subject by referring to it in the third person, not directly addressing it; this approach continues in the central narrative section; and the "you" of direct address comes only at the end, in the invocation/epilogue, revealing that the god/hymned entity has been the implicit addressee (primary narratee) all along. The hymn's human audience as narratee is secondary and covert. In this hymn, then, despite—or, I would argue, perhaps *because* of its unconventional addressee in the form of the Aegean Sea rather than a more conventional god—Aristides has chosen to employ strictly this classic narrative strategy, resembling the *Homeric Hymns* far more even than Callimachus' *Hymns*, which already start to mix narrative modes and narratees within the different sections and to alter the structure.[23] *Oration* 44 is therefore arguably Aristides' most conventional hymn, and formally resembles examples of the genre that precede the developments of the Hellenistic era.

b *The Narratees of Or. 46 Hymn to Poseidon*

Now that we have seen that Aristides is very well aware of the narrative structure employed in the *Homeric Hymns* and of the "rules" of conventional hymn structure, let us look at a completely different case, in which the rulebook is jettisoned altogether. Before doing so, note that this oration *is* at least addressed to a conventional hymnic subject, one of the Olympian gods. But as we shall see, in many respects it is far more like an oration than a hymn in its make-up, and one of Aristides' least hymn-like hymn-orations. That is not to say, however,

23 Cf. Devlin 1994: 249, "in this [respect], he follows again the pattern of the *Homeric Hymns*."

that it should not be considered a hymn, nor that it was not considered as such by the author. As in several others, the narrator refers to his utterance as both hymn and speech, self-consciously flagging up its generic hybridity:

> ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ὑμνεῖν καὶ λέγειν καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ διάγειν ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων λόγοις.
>
> Now it would be well for us to hymn these things and to discuss them and speak about them in our speech on these matters.
>
> 46.31

On the more oration-like side is the strong contrast between this and *Or.* 44 with regard to narratees: the speech's human audience are overt narratees throughout, and are directly addressed in all three sections, *proem*, *narrative*, and *epilogue*. It is particularly unusual to find external overt narratees in parts (A) and (C) in a hymn, which makes this much closer to the conventions of an oration in narratological terms.[24] By contrast, Poseidon is *only* referred to in the third person throughout—that is, he is never a direct addressee. Although he could still be classed as an implicit narratee of a text referring to itself as a hymn to Poseidon, the complete avoidance of hymn-like invocation at any point and repeated reference to him in the third person makes him seem almost like an uninvited eavesdropper on his own hymn rather than its primary narratee: this is most definitely the human audience of the oration:

> Τὰ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἴρηται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ὕμνηται, οὐ μεμπτῶς ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ· ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτω διακειμένους.
>
> The matter of Poseidon himself has been covered in a sense, and hymned, in a manner one would not criticize, or so I at least think—and I see that such too is your feeling.
>
> 46.32

In addition to the direct address to his audience, note that the narrator also participates in a very oration-like rather than hymn-like interplay between himself and his narratees: the narrator-oratator "notices" the reaction of his audience to his speech while it is in progress and responds accordingly, thus

24 See Devlin 1994: 240–241. For external overt narratees consisting of the human audience, see also Furley, this volume, p. 123.

constructing a fictional representation within the text of the occasion of its delivery. Indeed, we might call this a "mimetic oration" by analogy with the label "mimetic hymn" as applied to Callimachus: the author in each case creates a double layer of narration in which the hymn/oration is not only the text of the hymn/oration but also imitates the words of the hymn-singer/orator in a "live" performance. In doing so, he transports the readers of the text (the external narratees) to the site of its first performance by identifying them with the second-person plurals referring to the audience present on that occasion; this audience are thus both internal narratees at these metafictional points when the text refers to them and the occasion of the speech (they are internal to, and characters in, the text's fictional performance of the speech), and also external narratees of the narrative about Poseidon within that fictional performance.[25]

At the close, the *epilogue* section (C), we might finally expect at least a brief direct address to the god, a hymnic invocation, or some concession to the conventions of hymn form (contrast 44.18, quoted above). But the closest we get to this is a suggestion that "we" (the narrator and his narratees *qua* audience at the first performance) should make a prayer to Poseidon:

> λοιπὸν οὖν εὐξαμένους τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τῇ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ καὶ τῷ Παλαίμονι καὶ Νηρηίσι καὶ δαίμοσι θαλαττίοις πᾶσί τε καὶ πάσαις ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἔν τε γῇ καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ διδόναι βασιλεῖ τε τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ γένει ξύμπαντι τούτου καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα τε εὐθενεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ.
>
> It remains for each of us to go to our respective duties after a prayer to Poseidon, Amphitrite, Leucothea, Palaemon, the Nereids, and all the gods and goddesses of the sea, to grant safety and preservation on land and sea to the great Emperor, to his whole family, and to the Greek race, and to each of us to thrive in oratory and in other respects as well.
>
> 46.42

25 It must be borne in mind, of course, that Aristides' hymn-orations were real orations delivered by the author before an audience—in this case the Isthmia of 175 CE; on their occasions see Goeken 2012: 45–56 and table p. 69. The dynamics of these oral performances were inevitably different to those analysed here, treating the hymns as texts to be read, but Aristides undoubtedly wrote his orations at least as much for posterity as for the audience of the first performance, and had in mind readers who would encounter his hymns as they would encounter the Homeric or other literary hymns, on scrolls. Compare Stephens, this volume pp. 61–68 for the complex interplay of different audiences and narratees in Callimachus' mimetic hymns.

The reference at the end of this passage to a collective "we" who are to thrive in oratory might indicate that the envisaged audience of a live performance of this oration—and thus of the fictionalised narrative event the later reader constructs—consists of Aristides' pupils. This reinforces the overall effect already seen of privileging features of the oration over the hymn genre in *Or.* 46, conjuring up an image of a school-room setting, as it were, in which Poseidon is more discussed than directly hymned. The avoidance of direct address to Poseidon is the more striking in this epilogue section: it is at this point that direct address to the hymned deity is traditionally (from the *Homeric Hymns* onwards) found even in hymns which avoid it everywhere but the epilogue.[26] As *Or.* 44 shows, Aristides is well aware of this conventional pattern and follows it there; and indeed this epilogue in *Or.* 46 also hints at the convention by referring to the prayer "we" should make at this point (λοιπὸν οὖν εὐξαμένους τῷ Ποσειδῶνι), without then giving voice to that prayer, which would naturally entail addressing Poseidon directly in the second person. The avoidance of direct address here especially and throughout the entirety of *Or.* 46, in contrast to Aristides' practice in all his other hymns, cannot but be deliberate, and is quite striking. *Or.* 46, then, is formally Aristides' most un-hymnlike hymn-oration.

Whatever the reason for this,[27] one clear effect visible throughout Aristides' set of hymns is a formal variation in narratological and structural features, combining those of the hymn and the oration in different proportions in different hymns. This experimentation, along with the references within the texts themselves to their hybrid status, makes the hymns self-conscious reflections on the author's invention of a new genre of prose hymns.

c *Variety and Categorising Aristides' Hymns*

I have analysed one small aspect of two hymns in detail, with the results suggesting that further study along these lines could be very fruitful; there is not space here to analyse all the hymns' narratees and narratological forms in the same way, but it will be useful to compare the groupings suggested by analysing the hymns in these terms to those identified by Donald Russell on linguistic and stylistic grounds:[28]

26 See also [Menander Rhetor] 445.26 ff. who recommends the *peroratio* of a prose hymn begin with a direct invocation, in his example ὦ Σμίνθιε καὶ Πύθιε.

27 A possible reason is discussed below, pp. 162–163.

28 Russell 1990: 200–201.

Russell Groups:
Hymnic (most like poetic hymns):
Or. 37 *Athena*, 41 *Dionysus*, 43 *Zeus*, 45 *Sarapis*.
Epideictic (standard encomium features):
Or. 44 *Aegean Sea*, 46 *Poseidon*.
Mixed (features of both, but more like epideictic than hymnic):
Or. 38 *Sons of Asclepius*, 39 *The Well of Asclepius*, 40 *Heracles*, 42 *Asclepius*.

It is no surprise to find that the hymn to Poseidon is much more like an oration than a conventional hymn on a linguistic-stylistic analysis: in this case, we can add the narratological analysis above; all of this sets *Or.* 46 apart as the least hymn-like of Aristides' hymns. On the other hand, there is a contrast between the narratological features of *Or.* 44 and its linguistic-stylistic features: the former place it among the most hymn-like, the latter in the least hymn-like of the three Russell groups of Aristides' hymns. This may well be deliberate: as suggested above, the unconventional hymn-subject might have prompted the author to choose a very conventional hymnic structure and treatment of narrative. Among the motivations must also be the pursuit of formal variation that one would expect of an author working in a relatively new and little-explored genre such as the prose hymn: Aristides explores and exhibits the range of possibilities permitted by the form across his set of compositions in that form. *Oration* 44, being addressed to a sea rather than a god, does not provide Aristides with the usual mythological source material for the standard hymn themes (see table above): this fact may explain the selection of a linguistic-stylistic register more fitting for a standard encomium (for which there are models with places as the praised object) than a hymn. This suggestion is supported by the fact that all the hymns to less conventionally hymned entities—all those not to gods (i.e. *Or.* 44, 38, and 39)—belong in Russell's terms to the less hymn-like groups which have more linguistic and stylistic resemblance to encomiastic orations.[29]

In terms of the author's treatment of different narratees (hymned entity and oration audience) and their combinations, the two hymns examined above stand at opposite ends of a spectrum: Aristides' remaining hymns all display a mixture of audience and hymned entity as narratees and direct addresees;

29 In addition to Russell 1990 see Devlin 1994: 240–274 for further detailed analysis of formal, linguistic and stylistic features of the prose hymns, demonstrating the self-conscious generic hybridity through deliberate tensions between typical poetic hymn and oration-hymn features. She also notes some features which cut across Russell's grouping of the hymns: 248.

that is, in narratological terms they are a mixture of the hymn and the narrative part of an oration. Rather than groupings like those of Russell, a narratological analysis reveals in all but two cases a mixture which might be expected from such a generic hybrid, with *Or.* 44 and 46 as outliers.

V The Narrator

The quality of the narrator in narratological terms is, perhaps unsurprisingly, where Aristides' technique becomes most distinctive (and this chapter can thus only begin such an analysis).[30] I begin with a summary of the treatment of the narrator in the most influential literary hymn collections, the *Homeric Hymns* and Callimachus.[31] As noted above, the narrator of the *Homeric Hymns* is mostly covert; Callimachus develops the narrator's role, making him more overt, even in the narrative section, and giving him more personality. This development of the literary hymn genre's treatment of the narrator is characteristic of the Hellenistic period and of Callimachus' other works, since the narrator becomes more self-conscious and the texts more metapoetic. When we turn to Aristides, given his infamously self-obsessed and self-praising persona in other works, it is no surprise to find that Aristides' treatment of the narrator is far closer to the Callimachean than the *Homeric Hymns*' narrators—indeed, he goes even further than Callimachus at times in creating an overt narrator,[32] who belongs more to oratory than the hymnic genre.

30 See Devlin 1994: 252–253 for this distinctive feature ("the orator's persona regularly intervening," 252).

31 Based as before on Nünlist 2004, Harder 2004; see above, § II (b).

32 In this chapter I do not use the terms "overt" and "covert" as simple poles, one of which must be true of any narrator, the other false, as some traditional frameworks of narratology would; though that is a useful distinction for some texts, or indeed between different sections of the *Homeric Hymns* as discussed, my argument is rather that Aristides recognised the distinction, following it in some cases and going against it in others; moreover that he deliberately varied between his hymns the number of narratorial comments, interventions, and other features that distinguish the narrator as overt, accumulating them in some hymns to create a persistently present, strongly characterised, orator-like narrator, but using them very sparingly in others in order to present a hymnic narrator far closer to that of the *Homeric Hymns*. It is in this sense that I speak of "degrees of overtness" in this section, though that modifies the usual conception of the terms "overt" and "covert" as being a strict dichotomy.

As Harder notes on the Callimachean hymns,[33] the narrator's presence is revealed (the narrator becomes overt rather than covert, and is more fully characterised rather than "objectively" allowing the events to speak for themselves) through a variety of signs, such as: rhetorical questions; apostrophe; the *aporia* motif ("which story am I to tell," which implies the narrator has many at his disposal); references to the narrator's own time; evaluative comments; and quotation from other literature. Aristides displays all of these markers at some point in his hymns, and others too, appropriate to the narrator's persona in an oration; nor are they restricted to the *proem* and *epilogue* sections (A, C), the points in traditional hymns, even the *Homeric Hymns*, at which the narrator is allowed to be present, but are also found scattered liberally throughout the narrative section.

I begin with the hymn whose narrator has the least overt presence. There is no hymn by Aristides which does not have an overt narrator, in the sense of having some first-person self-reference, at least in either the *proem* or *epilogue*. But there is one hymn in which the narrator almost entirely avoids referring to himself in the first person throughout the middle narrative section (B): *Or.* 44 to the Aegaen sea, which thus in this respect too, as with its treatment of the narratee, reveals itself to be the most traditional in following the narrative conventions of earlier Greek hymns.

a *The Narrator in the Narration Section (B) of Oration 44*

Between the *proem* and *epilogue* of this hymn, the sole first-person reference by and to the narrator is this fairly unobtrusive marking of a repetition:

> ὅπερ εἶπον, ὁ Αἰγαῖός ἐστι τοῦτο.
>
> … as I said, this is what the Aegean represents.
>
> 44.6

As one would expect of any hymn from the *Homeric Hymns* onwards, the narrating "I" is visible in the *proem* and *epilogue*. But after Callimachus, one might expect to see it in the narrative section as well, and this is indeed what we see in the case of many of Aristides' hymns. But in *Or.* 44 we find only this one

33 Harder 2004.

instance, and although it is an "I" referring to the narrator and therefore means we are technically dealing with an overt narrator in the narrative section, this is just about the most anonymous kind of narrating "I" possible, telling us nothing at all about the narrator's persona.[34]

Besides this "I," there are other hints at the narrator's presence, but only a few and not of the most obtrusive kind. We have already seen a generalising "you" in this hymn (44.8, quoted above), which is repeated a few times; this is technically apostrophe, as the narrator stops narrating and turns to his addressee, but the addressee here is not the you plural of the audience but merely a generalising device and a way of phrasing something that we could translate as "one." Thus we are not dealing with a strongly marked narratorial presence through this very unobtrusive kind of apostrophe.

The next example contains quotation from earlier literature, and reference to it by the author's name:

> οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ Ὁμήρου πέλαγος δι᾽ ἐρήμου δεῖ διελθεῖν καὶ ἐπί τι τῶν οἰκουμένων ἀνύσαι, ὥστε μηδενὶ θεῶν κεχαρισμένην εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ καὶ Νηρῄδων χοροὶ κάλλιστον ἴχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδί· ὅτι τὸ μάλιστα οἰκούμενον καὶ ἀκμάζον τῆς θαλάττης τοῦτό ἐστι.
>
> For there is no need, as on Homer's sea, to pass through a deserted region to reach an inhabited place, so that the journey is pleasing to none of the gods because of the isolation. But here, indeed, "the choruses of the Nereids unfold the fairest steps," because this is the most inhabited and flourishing region of the sea.[35]
>
> 44.9

Such references to earlier authors by name along with quotations are frequent in Aristides' hymn-orations, but this comes from the oration side of their parentage:[36] poetic hymns are usually intertextual with other literature in less obvious ways—allusion rather than quotation or reference.[37] There is

34 It shows merely that narrator is in control of his narration: cf. Nünlist 2004: 37–38 on *Homeric Hymns*.

35 Cf. *Or.* 44.12, 44.16.

36 See further Devlin 1994: 254–258 on intertextuality in Aristides' hymns.

37 Callimachus *Hymn* 1 is an exception; see *H.Hom.Herm.* 36.

a similar effect in both cases with regard to the narrator, whose presence and control of the narrative is felt at such moments more than in plain narrative passages; verbatim quotation and reference achieve this effect more strongly than allusion, though, making Aristides' narrator in such passages somewhat more overt than a narrator in a poetic hymn who merely alludes to earlier literature. While it might be argued that this intertextual practice is not all that different from a (poetic) hymn's narrator making an allusion—allusion, quotation, and reference are qualitatively the same sort of sign of the narrator's presence—in terms of degrees of overtness, the use of verbatim quotation and reference belongs more to the oration than to the poetic hymn. In this respect, the narrator of *Or.* 44 is here somewhat more like an orator than a hymnic narrator (but still not as overt as the narrator of some of his more oration-like hymns).

In addition to the list of ways in which a hymnic narrator's presence is revealed (above), in Aristides in particular we find the oratorical-hymnic narrator becoming overt at moments when he moves from narration to argumentation, since these are points in the text at which the story no longer seems to tell itself, but reveals the narrator behind it ordering and structuring the world of the narrative. The orator pauses his narration to try to persuade the audience of a particular point of view, thereby revealing his presence:

> ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος τὸ μετριώτατον καὶ πρὸς πάσας τὰς ὥρας τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνεκτότατον, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη τὸ ὑπερέχον τὸν Αἰγαῖον, καὶ περὶ ταύτας τὰς χώρας μάλιστα ἱδρυμένον. δῆλον δὲ κατ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς λόγους.
>
> Indeed, a superiority of the Aegean, one located particularly in these regions, would also be a climate which is both most temperate and most pleasant in every season. The point is clear on both the following arguments: …
>
> 44.5–6

This passage marks such a transition, narrating giving way to arguing. The first sentence is still part of the present narration of the Aegean's qualities that forms most of the middle, narration section (B) of this hymn—it tells the reader something that has not yet been told about the subject of the hymn. But then the narrator pauses to argue for that fact, using subjective language ("it is clear …," δῆλον …), and thus being focalised *qua* the orator with a distinct character and opinions rather than remaining in the background as narrator. Here and elsewhere in this hymn, then, one foot is clearly in the camp of oratory (while

the other remains in the hymn genre), arguing that the Aegean is the best sea and so deserves the praise that the narrator bestows upon it.[38]

In the narrative section of *Oration* 44, then, we find a number of points at which the narrator makes his presence felt, or is overt, but these are not obtrusive, nor in most cases very different from such moments in a regular poetic hymn—in the case of intertextuality, it is a matter of degree of overtness within the same qualitative category of "sign" of the narrator's presence. The exception is the sign given by the use of and reference to argumentation, which is a sign of the hybrid nature of the genre and thus its narrator.[39] But *Or.* 44 keeps the presence of the narrator relatively covert in the narrative section compared with many hymns from Callimachus' time onwards, and compared with Aristides' other hymnic narrators, as we shall see, and allows the narrator a freer rein only in sections (A) and (C): this is close to the traditional poetic hymn's narrator. So, in its treatment of the narrator, as of the narratees, *Oration* 44 is quite traditional, and closer to the practice of the *Homeric Hymns* than Callimachus' self-conscious and metapoetic narratives.

b *The Narrator in the Narration Section (B) Oration 41*

Oration 41 is according to Russell's grouping (see above) on linguistic and stylistic grounds one of the most like a traditional poetic hymn of Aristides' hymn-orations; it also has a conventional hymnic subject, the god Dionysus. And in this case, Aristides matches the more traditional approach in these respects with his narrative strategy, including his treatment of the narrator, in contrast to *Or.* 44 where there is something of a mismatch.

In terms of the narrator's presence, as in *Or.* 44, we have self-reference by the narrating "I" in the *proem* and *epilogue* (A, C), as found in hymns from the

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38 Technically, arguing is not characteristic of encomiastic oratory (the rhetorical form to which the hymn-orations are most strongly aligned), the function of which is to amplify an attribute of the subject *taken as given*, in a way which will increase the audience's admiration (for the contrast between encomium and apologia see Theon *Prog.* 112.8–13 Spengel (quoting Isocr. *Helen* 14); Nicol. *Prog.* 53.6–19 Felten; Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.6.) In practice, though, argument is not rigorously excluded from encomium. My thanks to Malcolm Heath for the clarification of my point here.

39 Some argument is of course proper to Greek hymns as to prayers in general, as Pulleyn 1997 shows; nevertheless, in the context of hymn-*orations* whose narrator is frequently present and overt in the manner of an oration's narrator and engages in argument, this must be seen as more influential on Aristides' frequent inclusion of arguments for praising the deity.

Homeric Hymns onwards; but in the central narration section (B), the narrator's presence is not felt very much in comparison with many post-Callimachean hymns. This central section contains a mere two narratorial "I"s, one of which is:[40]

> ἤδη δέ τινων ἤκουσα καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἴη ὁ Διόνυσος. καὶ τί ἂν εἴποις ὑπὲρ τοῦτο;
>
> I have heard from some even another story on this subject, that Zeus is Dionysus. And what more could you say than this?
>
> 41.4–5

The narrator is not very overt in terms of the frequency of self-reference, then, and indeed this fits with the relatively unobtrusive nature of the signs of the narrator's presence that are found. This example contains a rhetorical question, another sign of the narrator's presence, along with the self-reference; but the two are thus combined in one passage which interrupts the narration only briefly. Furthermore, the hymnic narrator becoming overt for a moment to ponder how to hymn the god and mention how the god is celebrated in other songs is a traditional device going back to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (19), so that this moment of narratorial overtness is not particularly striking or intrusive. The orator-narrator's presence is shown to some extent in this hymn also in rhetorical formulations such as δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἐνθένδε, "This is also clear from the following" (41.9), which is not an example of a very overt narrator, but does show the narrator's presence momentarily in presenting arguments for a particular perspective about the god. The narrator in *Or.* 41 is also shown through quotations and references to earlier literature, for instance:

> διδόασι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα χορευτὴν τελεώτατον θεῶν ὄντα, ὡς Πίνδαρός … ὑμνεῖ.
>
> They also give him Pan as his dancer, who is "the most perfect of the gods," as Pindar hymns …
>
> 41.6

The narrative section of this hymn then has an overt narrator whose presence is felt at a few moments such as these, but neither very frequently nor very

40 The other instance is "me" in the phrase "it seems to me," 41.8.

obtrusively. Compared with the longer *Or.* 44, the narrative of 41, the shortest of Aristides' hymns, contains a higher proportion of such moments, but its narrator is not an especially intrusive or strongly-felt presence there when compared to those of the Callimachean hymns, only compared to those of the *Homeric Hymns*.

The narrator of *Or.* 41 is, however, more marked as an individual with a personality, characterised by a rationalising approach to myths[41] and a historiographical or exegetic type of narratorial persona, who reports different myths and sometimes passes evaluative comments on what he narrates (another of the types of "sign" of the narrator's presence in hymns noted above). This is quite unconventional for a hymn, and certainly most unlike the approach of the *Homeric Hymns*' narrators;[42] but of course, for epideictic oratory and prose literature in general of the Imperial period, there is nothing unconventional in this:

> καὶ μὴν **καὶ** τὴν Ἥραν λέγουσιν ὡς μόνος θεῶν τῷ υἱεῖ διήλλαξε κομίσας τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἄκοντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀναθεὶς ὄνῳ. καὶ ὡς μὲν **αἴνιγμά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δῆλον, δῆλον δὲ καὶ** οἷ τελευτᾷ τὸ αἴνιγμα, ὡς ἄρα πολλή τις καὶ ἄμαχος ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν καὶ ὄνους πτεροῦν
>
> Indeed, they **even** say that he was the only god to reconcile Hera and her son when he brought the unwilling Hephaestus up to heaven, and at that having placed him on the back of an ass. And **it is clear that there is a riddle** in the tale, but the point of the riddle **is also clear**, that the power of the god is great and invincible and that he could give wings even to asses …
>
> 41.6–7

Aristides does not like the more outlandish myths about gods, regarding them as impieties, so he allegorises or rationalises them—so here, the narrator becomes very overt through his imposition of an interpretation on the stories he narrates, and through his exegetic rather than hymnic narratorial style.[43] For a reader (or audience member) with knowledge of Aristides' approach to the myths about the gods in the rest of his corpus, the narrator's persona, characterised by passages such as this, becomes identifiable with Aristides' authorial

41 See Devlin 1994: 253–254 with references for Aristides' treatment of myth in the hymns.

42 Again Callimachus *Hymn* 1 is an exception.

43 Ewen Bowie aptly suggests a comparison with the exegetic style of Aristides' contemporary Pausanias.

persona throughout his corpus. In *Or.* 44, Aristides keeps himself—an overt narrator identifiable as an authorial persona of this kind—out of the picture, thus maintaining a more conventional hymnic narrator. And in *Or.* 41, this passage is rather exceptional than commonplace, so that 41 can be seen as closer to the traditional end of the spectrum, near to *Or.* 44, in terms of its treatment of the narrator, as in several other respects as noted above. In other hymns, though, Aristides' narrator becomes far more overt, with frequent intrusions and a strong characterisation, and thus closer to the oratorical than the hymnic lineage.

c *The Narrator in the Narration Section (B) of Oration 46*

We return now to the hymn to Poseidon, which was noted to be the least hymn-like by various criteria of analysis, and far closer to a standard epideictic oration than to a mixed hymn-oration. The treatment of the narrator is no different, confirming this impression: the narrator makes his presence extremely visible, not only in the *proem*, as would be expected (but even here, he is more overt than in some other of his hymn proems), but throughout the central narrative section. First person self-references by the narrator are numerous (some examples are found in the passages quoted above, under narratees); so too are the argumentative strategies which show the orator-narrator's presence, and the explicit literary references and quotations; but these are both done more self-consciously than the examples from *Or.* 41 and 44.[44]

First, signs of the orator-narrator's presence in his strategies of argumentation and reflexive references to arguments are found in this example:

> ὅσα μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν ἀνάγειν ἀξιοῦντες οἱ πρῶτοι ταῦτα **φιλοσοφήσαντες** τοὺς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου **λόγους** … καθὰ καὶ ὁ τῶν **ποιητῶν λόγος μαρτυρεῖ**, γένεσιν τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι θεῶν φάσκων, ὥς που εἴρηται "Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν," ἐν ἑτέρῳ ὀνόματι τῷ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, καὶ τροφήν τε καὶ ζωὴν ξυμπάντων ὁπόσα τε θεῖα καὶ τῆς κάτω μοίρας.
>
> All that has been said by those who first undertook these **philosophic discussions** when they felt that they should refer their **arguments** about this god back to the nature of the universe … just as is also attested by **the arguments of the poets**, that this element [the "moist essence"] is the source of the gods, and when it is somewhere said "Ocean, source of the gods,"

44 See Devlin 1994: 247–248.

> they are calling it under another name, that of Ocean, the nourishment and means of life for all things that are divine and of a lower order.
>
> 46.6

The narrator of *Or.* 46 throughout the narration section is very clearly an orator and far less clearly a hymnographer: he refers to mythical and literary representations of the god as arguments and philosophical discussions, engaging in rationalising interpretation and literary criticism, and argues for his views on philosophical and scientific matters as much as he narrates anything about Poseidon. Like a narrator in an oration, he is very overt, since his persuasive agenda requires that he be present to impose his arguments and repeatedly draw attention to their validity, in a manner alien to a hymnic narrator (and, as we have seen, even in Aristides' more hymn-like *Orations* such as 44, this is achieved more discreetly than in passages such as this one in *Or.* 46).

Another sign of a narrator's presence is in his self-conscious selection and ordering of material—showing his working, as it were, as opposed to displaying only the final product.[45] This sign is found in *Or.* 46 too, for example:

> ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ὑπό τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ποιητῶν σοφῶν εἴρηταί τε καὶ ἐξεύρηται, **ταῦτα μὲν ἤτοι τέλεον ἡμῖν παρείσθω ἢ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω ἐν γοῦν τῷ παρόντι.** ἃ δέ ἐστι κοινὰ πάντων καὶ γνώριμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς, **τούτων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἄν πως πρέποι μνησθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα σὺν μάρτυσι τοῖς ποιηταῖς λεγόμενα. Ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ** Κρόνῳ τρεῖς παῖδας γενέσθαι ἐκ Ῥέας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν …
>
> All the other things of this sort that have been said and discovered by wise men and wise poets, **let us either entirely omit them, or discuss them only so far, at least for the present. But now it would in a way be fitting to mention** what is universally recognised and well-known to all men and before the eyes of all. **Not even this story is unattested, but it too has the poets as witnesses** to its tale. **For it is agreed** that Cronus had three sons from Rhea, their mother …
>
> 46.6–8

This passage leads immediately into some traditional hymnic narration, on the subject of Poseidon's birth. But the passage at hand is far more typical of

45 Characteristic of Aristides in many of his *Orations*; the *Panathenaicus* (1) is particularly self-conscious; see e.g. *Or.* 1.2–3, 7–8, 17, etc.

this "hymn," with its narrator resembling more an orator (or an exegete) in his approach to myths about the god rather than a hymnographer—discussing rival alternative myths, their sources, and their plausibility as much as narrating them.

The narrator of *Or.* 46 is also very close to Aristides' authorial person in his corpus as a whole, which characterises him and makes him more present within the narrative, especially to readers familiar with Aristides' other works. For instance, Aristides' peculiar dispreference for Poseidon among the major gods[46] might well be seen behind his disputing the poets' myths about him and not believing the "universally recognised" facts about him, or at least choosing a rationalising rather than literal interpretation of them. Similarly, Aristides does not accept the truth of the myths about gods fighting one another, calling them impious,[47] so that his hymnic narrator takes the unusual step here of distancing himself from such a tale and of labelling it explicitly *as* a myth, not simply narrating it in the manner of a hymnic narrator:[48]

> … καὶ λέγεσθαί γε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ **λόγον τινὰ καὶ μῦθον**, ὡς ἄρα ἐνταῦθα ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐκτομήν.
>
> … and a **certain tale or story** is told about it [the promontory Leucates], how here the deed done to Cronus was accomplished by his sons—the one about the castration.
>
> 46.17

46 Not a matter of not "believing in" Poseidon, as Behr puts it (1986: 422: "he had no belief in Poseidon, and the work is purely an elaborate, formal production, much of it a panegyric to Corinth"; see also Behr 1968: 90, 154), but rather (just as by contrast he has a strong preference for Asclepius, but also pays his respects to other major gods) precisely a dispreference for Poseidon, who is neglected above all in Aristides' works (as he admits, *Or.* 46.2–3), and in his religious observance, at least as reported in his works. See Goeken 2012: 253–271 on Aristides' religion as represented in the prose hymns; on Poseidon, 258 "Signalons néanmoins qu'Aristide n' apprécie pas forcément tous les dieux: c' est le cas de Poséidon, qui peut paraître ridicule à la fin du discours *Isthmique* …," 270 "… il n' est qu' un dieu secondaire pour Aristide …"

47 On Aristides' beliefs, Goeken 2012 *loc. cit.*; on his treatment and criticism of myth in the hymns, 272–286.

48 Callimachus *Hymn to Zeus* 1–5 of course already provides precedent for such a critical approach towards the god's mythical tradition. The narrator's attitude towards Poseidon in this hymn, along with its unconventional technique, goes much further, and must be seen in the context of references to Poseidon in Aristides' *oeuvre* as a whole.

The narrator's presence is thus shown in a passage such as this through the implicit evaluation of the plausibility of the story he narrates. Explicit evaluative comments by the narrator are to be found as well, for instance:

> ἄλλο δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν προσπαραγράφειν τούτοις, οἷα ἐνιαχοῦ τὰ φοβερά τε καὶ ἀσεβῆ γράμματα, ἃ ἐγὼ θαυμάζω πῶς ποτε καὶ ἠνέσχοντο οἱ πρῶτοι ταῦτα ἰδόντες, καὶ οὐ μετ' ὀργῆς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτων δημιουργούς τε καὶ αὐτόχειρας, ἢ ἔτι καὶ νυνὶ ἀνέχονται ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐμὸν ἴσως τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιτιμᾶν.
>
> But it is not good to add any other scenes to these, such as those terrifying and impious paintings in some places, which cause me to wonder how the first spectators tolerated them and did not angrily attack the artists and craftsmen, and how they still even now tolerate them in the midst of their temples. But perhaps it is not my task to criticise such things.
>
> 46.41

Note too that the narrator refers to his own time and that of the original audience (the narratees) here, which thus intrudes his presence into the narration.

Oration 46 then is very unconventional in many ways *qua* hymn, even for Aristides' generically hybrid hymn-orations; his narrative strategies, including the very frequent and obtrusive presence of the narrator within the narration section, contribute as much to this effect as the linguistic features noted by Russell. However much it resembles a "straight" oration rather than a mixed hymn-oration, this text is still regarded as a hymn, as seen from its self-conscious references to its genre. Its place at one end of the spectrum of Aristides' varied experiments in the prose hymn genre could be explained in general terms by a desire precisely for variety within the set of hymns, or the desire to experiment with different ways of combining the genres. In specific terms, the choice of Poseidon as the recipient of this most un-hymnlike hymn might be explained by Aristides' claim (*Or.* 46.2–3) that he feels a duty to make up for neglecting Poseidon in his other works, but implicitly feels no particular attachment to the god, as he does for Asclepius above all, but also for Athena and Zeus among the major gods.[49]

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49 See above n. 46.

Conclusions

Aristides' hymn-orations display variety in the treatment of narrators and narratees; in some respects and features of literary hymn technique, Aristides moves between hymns from one end of the spectrum to the other, now following a template very close to the *Homeric Hymns*, now giving his narrator-hymnodist a post-Hellenistic self-consciousness which also reflects the practices of the oration half of the text's parentage far more than the classical hymn side. Part of the reason for this varied treatment must be a desire for *variatio* within his corpus of prose hymns; but more specifically, it can be seen as a self-conscious experimentation across the corpus with different ways to combine those two genres, varying the proportions of conventions and patterns it takes from each parent genre from one hymn-oration to another, and varying the extent to which the conventions of one are allowed to dominate.

CHAPTER 8

Making the Hymn: Mesomedean Narrative and the Interpretation of a Genre

M. Brumbaugh

This paper aims to investigate aspects of narrative in the heterogeneous collection of short, lyric hymns by the Hadrianic kitharode Mesomedes. Many of these poems deviate substantially from the formal expectations we may have of Greek hymns, particularly hexametric ones. An especially striking feature, particularly in the context of a volume on hymnic narrative, is the scarcity of narration found in Mesomedes' poems.[1] Although the rich *muthoi* of the longer *Homeric Hymns* and the hymns of Kallimachos stand out when we think of narrative in hymns, I submit that the crucial aspect of hymnic narrative is the figured relationships the hymnist constructs with his audiences, whether his honorand, his patron, or other members of his listening (or reading) public. Mesomedes' poetry offers a ready testing ground for exploring the ways in which narrative relationships evince hymnic qualities in poems that lack formal features common to most Greek hymns.

Mesomedes in Context

Born in Krete, Mesomedes was a kitharode of great renown who lived in the 2nd Century AD. Although he is virtually unknown today, what we can piece together about his life and work reveals an intriguing figure. Publius Aelius Mesomedes, as he was probably named, was a freedman and intimate of the Roman emperor Hadrian. He enjoyed an imperial salary during his former master's rule and continued to receive imperial patronage under Antoninus Pius, despite that emperor's reputed parsimony.[2] Nearly a century later Caracalla reportedly honoured the kitharode with a cenotaph because when learning the kithara, the emperor had found the poet's collection of kitharodic nomes

1 Purves 2014 provides an excellent discussion (with bibliography) on the challenges posed by examining narrative in lyric poetry.

2 *Historia Augusta, Antoninus* 7.7; Whitmarsh 2004a: 382 rightly stresses that Mesomedes' prominence and receipt of imperial patronage continued beyond the reign of Hadrian.

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useful.[3] Mesomedes was indeed well known for his music, particularly these nomes, of which Cassius Dio and Eusebios make special mention. His popularity continued at least through to the early 5th century. In a letter to his brother from 407 AD, Synesios of Kyrene, a pagan Neoplatonist turned Christian hymnist, quotes lines from one of Mesomedes' hymns and gives the sense that they were still commonly sung to the lyre (*Epistle* 95).[4] This evidently continued to be the case for some time, since copyists went to the trouble of reproducing musical notation for some of Mesomedes' hymns. As a result we still have the scoring for a handful of his poems.[5]

From Mesomedes' poetic output, the Suda provides the title of a single work, an *epainos* εἰς Ἀντίνοον (to Antinoos). From this we imagine that the *Praise for Antinoos* was his most important work and that its composition relates to the poet's close friendship with the emperor, his μάλιστα φίλος. This *epainos* has been lost and the poems that survive come from what the Suda refers to as Mesomedes' "other miscellaneous poetry," ἄλλα διάφορα μέλη. These are transmitted through three separate traditions: a textbook (?) containing treatises on music and poems with musical notation (1–3), a late thirteenth-century codex containing the passage quoted by Synesios (4–11), and the Greek Anthology (12–13).[6] Altogether we have thirteen texts and likely fourteen poems, the longest of which runs to twenty-five verses.[7] The paroemiac and the apokroton are the predominant metres, producing short and often driving verses. Stylistically and thematically, the collection is diverse, but at least half of the poems seem to be hymns—not only because they carry titles to that effect in the manuscripts, but because they read like hymns.

The diversity of Mesomedes' subject matter reveals one apparent difficulty we have reconciling the poet's work with the Greek hymnic tradition. His poetry is addressed to Kalliope, Apollo, the Sun, Isis, Nemesis, a Pythagorian view of Nature (or perhaps the Kosmos), the Adriatic Sea, a Sun-Dial, a Sponge, a Gnat, and a Swan. If we add in the lost poem for Antinoos, we have the full spectrum of addressees: gods, abstract concepts, a geographic element, a

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3 Dio Cassius 78.13.7.

4 Synesios quotes vv. 9–11 of Mesomedes' *Hymn to Nemesis*. For discussion of Mesomedes' influence on the Christian hymnist, see Lanna 2009: 95–113.

5 West 1992: 273 and Pöhlmann and West 2001: 114–115.

6 Both manuscript traditions may derive from a music theory text called ἡ Μουσική, Pöhlmann and West 2001: 114–115. The poems from the anthology appear there as *AP* 14.63 and 16.323.

7 I follow the text and numbering in Heitsch 1961 and count 1a and 1b as separate poems, but 2 as a single hymn.

crafted object, animals, and man. Before we can look at how hymnic narrative operates in Mesomedes, we must first reconsider what a Greek hymn is and how his poems relate to that genre, making them relevant for discussion here among poetry that is more obviously hymnic.

The Greek Hymn

As the editors of the present volume indicate in the introduction, there is a rich tradition of scholarship on the Greek hymn—however, to frame our study of Mesomedes' hymnic narrative, a few points bear repeating. How do we know if a poem is a hymn? This question is so basic and yet so intensely problematic. In formulating a definition of the hymn, we necessarily put down boundaries as we identify the fundamental characteristics that distinguish hymns from non-hymns. Essentially, whether we define hymns by their form, their purpose, their social context, or some combination thereof, we overlay a rigid framework onto a dynamic and multidimensional body of poetry. If our definition is narrow, like Jan Bremer's characterization of hymns as "sung prayers,"[8] we exclude a great many poems that are clearly a part of the hymn tradition, for instance Aelius Aristides' prose hymns, which are not sung, and Kallimachos' six "literary" hymns, which few would call prayers, not to mention borderline cases such as the *Homeric Hymns*, whose cultic significance was likely imbedded within an agonistic festival setting. On the other hand, casting a broad net, as Mary Depew does in thinking about hymns alongside *agalmata*, or offerings,[9] invites comparanda such as statuary, sacrifices, and rhetorical encomia that may be broadly analogous to hymns but do not constitute a genre. These, and many others, can be productive ways of approaching the hymn, but they are grounded in the interpretation of particular sets of hymns, read in a particular light. Responding to this inherent difficulty, William Furley and Jan Bremer provide an elastic definition in their important study on Greek hymns that seeks to cover all the bases by offering a number of criteria that hymns *may* rather than *must* have. This approach looks to show a variety of ways in which hymns can be distinguished from other types of poetry and more generally from other types of speech.[10] This nuanced view of the hymn and its diverse possibilities allows for a more universal application.

8 Bremer 1981: 193. Bremer has since modified this view, Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 1–40, esp. 3.

9 Depew 2000: 59–79.

10 "As a form of utterance, [a hymn] is distinguished from normal speech by any or all of the

Common to all of these definitions, and others besides, is an underlying assumption that would problematize, if not outright preclude, reading most of Mesomedes' poems as hymns even before examining their contents. We generally understand the hymn to be a type of religious discourse that addresses a god.[11] In the case of our poet's hymns to Kalliope, Apollo, Helios, and Isis, we are on a solid footing. However, as we turn to Mesomedes' addresses to Nemesis, Nature, the Adriatic, the Sun-Dial and so on, we stray ever further from what is held to be a crucial element of the hymn. That hymns are by definition addressed to gods is seen to have a great deal of support, both in ancient commentary on the word "*hymnos*," and in the preponderance of ancient poems we call 'hymns' that do in fact address themselves to gods. However, this distinction along with a very narrow definition of "god" may be a retrojection from late antique scholars influenced by Christian theology and thus not native to the Greek hymn tradition.[12]

Works such as Pindar's *Hymn to Pytho*, Aristotle's *Hymn to Virtue*, and Kallimachos' *Hymn to Delos*, are just a few examples of works seen today as hymns that run afoul of an overly strict interpretation of what the hymn *is* and *to whom* it can be addressed. Reorienting our understanding of the genre not only frees us from needing to apologize for these poems, but at the same time it opens the door to more productive study between neighbouring genres, such as the epinikian and *epainos*. As we consider Mesomedes and his διάφορα μέλη, we do well to maintain a more flexible stance regarding whom and what hymns can praise. Although precedents for each type of addressee in Mesomedes'

following features: words uttered by a group of people in unison; melody; metre or rhythm; musical accompaniment; dance performed either by the hymn-singers themselves or an associated group; repetition from occasion to occasion. And when we wish to distinguish the hymn from other forms of song, even choral song, we only have to consider the person or entity to whom the composition is addressed: the hymn differs from normal speech or song in turning from human society to address a god or company of gods either directly (second-person address: 'Du-Stil') or indirectly (third-person address: 'Er-Stil') or even vicariously (first-person annunciation)." Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 2.

11 See the introduction to this volume pp. 7–9.

12 Plato's often cited references to *hymnoi* for gods in *Republic* (607a) and *Laws* (700b) does not necessarily imply a restrictive definition of the genre. In a forthcoming study, I examine Plato's inconsistent use of the term ὕμνος in the context of poetic eidography of the classical period. It is not until the fourth Century CE that Didymus Caecus (230.20, commenting on *Psalm* 35.28.) fixed the *hymnos* within a religious context by distinguishing praise of a god from praise of men, writing "it is not right to say an '*epainos* for god'; instead a *hymnos* and an *ainos* are for god, whereas an *epainos* is for men" ἔπαινον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ κυρίως λέγει· μᾶλλον γὰρ ὕμνος καὶ αἶνος ἐπὶ θεοῦ λέγεται, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἔπαινος.

hymns can be found, I do not mean to argue that the Adriatic, for instance, is a conventional topic for a hymn. What I suggest is that despite their sometimes curious departures from the mainstream, several of Mesomedes' poems are rooted firmly in the hymn tradition. They have been seen as hymns and labeled as such not because of their formal characteristics, but because they draw on the same narrative strategies found in other hymns. We can begin to see this by looking at the relationships established between the hymnic narrator and his addressees.

The Narrator's Request and the Hymn's Narrative World

Though usually the title character, the addressee is only one part of the dynamic relationship that drives the hymn, and understanding the interplay between a narrator and addressee is fundamental to understanding hymnic narrative. This relationship is usually developed through apostrophe—the space in which the narrator connects with his addressee. Present in other types of Greek narrative, apostrophe in hymns is associated with requests. These requests, wherever they occur in the poem, become a subtext for the entire hymn. In the traditional schematic view pioneered by Carl Ausfeld in the early 20th century and significantly improved by Jan Bremer,[13] we read hymns in three parts: an invocation, a *pars epica* or an argument, and a request. These three sections are often coordinated in an apparent effort to maximize the likelihood of that final request being granted. However, although the addressee remains silent, the relationship is not one-sided. The χαῖρε, commonly seen as a generic stamp found at a hymn's opening and/or closing, implies a bidirectional exchange between narrator and addressee. William Race has examined this dynamic in a well-known article on form and rhetoric in hymns, where he stresses that χαῖρε is not an empty marker used to open or close the narrative but rather emblematic of the reciprocal χάρις relationship a hymn seeks to establish between the narrator and the addressee.[14]

When we consider hymns in the context of performance, be it at a contest, a cult event, or a symposium, we introduce a third dimension and the narrative dynamic becomes triangulated between narrator, addressee and audience. Ann Bergren's work on the "Sacred Apostrophe" further explores the dynamic between rhapsode, god, and the judging audience in the *Homeric Hymns*.[15] She

13 Ausfeld 1933; Bremer 1981: 193–215.

14 Race 1982: 5–14.

15 If we are willing to blur the boundary between praise addressed to gods and praise

notes that unlike epic, where apostrophe serves as an introductory invitation for divine inspiration, most of the *Homeric Hymns* feature apostrophe in the opening and closing, "[casting] the hymn as the inverse of epic, not a goddess's words, but the poet's product, one he will try to exchange with a god."[16] The χάρις relationship between narrator and addressee is thus a negotiable commodity meant to secure the god's epiphany for the audience.

In the short hymns of Mesomedes, cogency is essential and so the relationship between the narrator and his addressee becomes all the more important. Requests for good-will and epiphany, authority, and deliverance or success, whether individually or in combination, are more than ever integrated into the narrative of each hymn. Despite the fact that Mesomedes does not build his narrative around a well-defined formal hymn structure, all of these dynamics between narrator and addressee are at work in his hymns, even if unconventionally. For instance, the terms χάρις and χαίρω are used so frequently in ancient hymns that they are often treated as an indispensible marker of the genre. A quick survey of the major groups of ancient Greek hymns shows that they appear over fifty times in the *Homeric Hymns*, over twenty times each in the hymns of Kallimachos and Aelius Aristides, and roughly a dozen times each in Synesios and Proklos. By contrast, Mesomedes never uses these terms in any of his hymns. His hymns do, however, exhibit the same interest in securing the good-will and epiphany these terms connote.

Mesomedes' Prooimia

There is some doubt among scholars that Mesomedes is in fact the author of all of the poems attributed to him. In particular, the poem labeled εἰς Μοῦσαν is suspected to be older than Mesomedes.[17] At least part of the reason for doubting Mesomedean authorship is the difficulty in reconciling Mesomedes' impressive reputation with the simplicity of his surviving works. In this regard, the first of the three musically annotated texts is the most baffling. At nine

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addressed to men, as I have suggested we should, then we find parallels in Leslie Kurke's approach to the economics of praise in Pindar.

16 Bergren 1982: 83–108. Claude Calame has done excellent work on the *Hymns* along broadly similar lines, e.g. Calame 1998: 111–133.

17 The descriptions of Calliope as προκαθηγέτις (6), a term belonging primarily to epigraphical contexts, and Apollo as μυστοδότης (7) are unusual, which is not necessarily an argument against Mesomedean authorship. If not the author of the poem, the kitharode may have set it to music and thereby sparked the association. See Maas 1933: 156.

verses, it has failed to inspire much enthusiasm from modern critics. Nevertheless, this text merits closer inspection as it is illustrative of some fundamental aspects of the Greek hymn and will be instructive in the study of hymnic narrative in Mesomedes.

1a.	Ἄειδε μοῦσά μοι φίλη, μολπῆς δ' ἐμῆς κατάρχου, αὔρη δὲ σῶν ἀπ' ἀλσέων ἐμὰς φρένας δονείτω.	Sing to me my Muse, lead my song, the breeze from your grove let it rouse my wits.
1b.	Καλλιόπεια σοφά, μουσῶν προκαθαγέτι τερπνῶν καὶ σοφὲ μυστοδότα, Λατοῦς γόνε, Δήλιε Παιάν, εὐμενεῖς πάρεστέ μοι.	O wise Kalliope, guide of the delightful Muses, You too, wise revealer of mysteries, child of Leto, Delian Paian, be at my side and on my side.[18]

Metre, dialect, and manuscript layout indicate that we have two separate poems here: one for the Muse and another for Kalliope and Apollo.[19] Both poems are invocations that employ the topos of inspiration commonly found in prooimial hymns—preludes that introduce longer, usually poetic, works. In its simplest form, the prooimion implores one or more gods, typically the Muses, Apollo, or both in their role as patrons of music, to lend inspiration to what immediately follows. The Homeric epics famously begin in this way: "Sing, O goddess, of the wrath …" μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ (*Iliad* 1) and "Sing to me, O Muse, of a man …" Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα (*Odyssey* 1). A playfully redundant epigram of Simonides indicates that this was already seen as conventional in the archaic period: "O Muse, sing to me of beautiful ankled Alkmene's son; / of beautiful ankled Alkmene's son, sing to me, O Muse" Μοῦσά μοι Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου υἱὸν ἄειδε· / υἱὸν Ἀλκμήνης ἄειδε Μοῦσά μοι καλλισφύρου (fr. 17 West). At the opposite extreme, Hesiod's *Theogony* offers a more elaborate and lengthy version of the inspirational prooimion (*Th.* 1–115) and Kallimachos develops the topos into an elaborate dialogic framework for the first two books of his *Aitia*. Kallimachos' innovation notwithstanding, the traditional bid for inspiration was largely *pro forma* by the time of Mesomedes.[20]

18 Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

19 See Pöhlmann and West 2001: 111–112.

20 See Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Musica* (1133C) on this passage; on the prooimion more generally, see Maslov 2012: 193–194.

Despite their brevity, these invocations illustrate core aspects of what a hymn is and the figured relationships it establishes. In 1a we find a three-fold request depending on two imperatives and an optative wish: "sing to me" (ἄειδε, 1), "lead my song" (κατάρχου, 2), and "let the breeze stir up my wits" (δονείτω, 4). While each of these repeats the poet's basic request for poetic inspiration from the addressee, their juxtaposition is not merely redundant. In a rising tricolon, the poet subtly renegotiates the dynamics of his relationship with the muse. In the first instance, the poet simply asks that the muse sing to him—figuring the goddess as the agent producing the song and himself as its passive recipient (μοι, 1). In the second verse, the same request is revised to suggest a partnership wherein the muse acts as guide for a song that is emphatically the poet's own (μολπῆς δ' ἐμῆς, 2). In the fullest elaboration of the inspirational topos, the poet all but sets aside the intimate Du-Stil of his address to the muse and expresses his wish that a breeze from the muse's grove (σῶν ἀπ' ἀλσέων, 3) rouse *his* wits (ἐμὰς φρένας, 4) with the implication that *he* will then devise a song. The partnership between addressee and poet is reoriented with an emphasis on the latter's agency.

Though only the first contains a vocative address to the muse, each of these three invocations could stand on its own as a brief prooimion. Their juxtaposition in a single poem becomes a meditation on the topos of inspiration, not wholly dissimilar to the self-conscious Simonides epigram. Moreover, the personal markers (μοι, ἐμῆς, σῶν, ἐμάς) in every line stress the shifting dynamics between the poet's ἐγώ and the σύ of his addressee. While it lays out three different versions of the dynamic between poet and his muse, this basic invocation shows no sign of investment in the χάρις relationship characteristic of Greek hymns.[21] The poet's only description of his addressee, the adjective φίλη, implies a claim to intimacy between the two, but falls short of the praise that typifies Greek hymns, including the one that follows it in the musical manuscripts.

Like the preceding poem, the hymn to Kalliope and Apollo (1b) appears to be a prooimion petitioning the patron gods of poetry for their support in another endeavor. Merely one verse longer than 1a, this poem bolsters its request by employing a simple praise strategy, allocating two verses to each addressee and a final verse to the petition. The poet describes both gods as "wise" (σοφός, 5 and 7) and honors Kalliope as a leader (προκαθηγέτις, 6) and Apollo as the revealer of the mysteries (μυστοδότης, 7). The poet identifies Kalliope as the leader of the muses and Apollo as the offspring of Leto, contextualizing them

21 This is evident even in shorter hymns, including prooimia; cf. Hesiod *Works and Days* 1–10, *Homeric Hymn* 13. On χάρις in hymnic rhetoric, see Race 1982: 5–14.

within what Jenny Strauss Clay has fittingly termed the "politics of Olympus."[22] Furthermore, the poet remarks that the muses are "delightful" (τερπνός, 6) and embellishes his description of Apollo with the epithet "Delian" (Δήλιος, 8).

In contrast with the invocation of the muse (1a), this poem flatters its honorands in an effort to please them and win their favor. The formulation of the poet's request, in the final line, confirms this: "[you who are] well-disposed toward me, be at my side." The first word in the line, εὐμενεῖς (9), is the lynchpin in the χάρις economy of the hymn as it implicitly connects the poet's praise, the gods' consequent pleasure, and finally their willingness to grant the petition. As such, the adjective stands in for the traditional χαῖρε that opens and/or closes most hymns and describes their core strategy.[23] Intimately linked with the establishment of the χάρις relationship between hymnist and honorand is the imperative "be at my side" (πάρεστε, 9), which calls for an epiphany—the desired outcome for most hymns.[24] The request for epiphany here is a bid for the gods to allow some of that greatness that has just been praised to filter down to the hymnist. In this way it shows itself to be broadly similar to the request-heavy, inspirational prooimion in 1a.[25]

If we use the definition of narration that Ewen Bowie applies to epigrams,[26] we note that both these poems are altogether lacking in it, since there is no

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22 Clay 1989, 2006.

23 See above n. 21, Race 1982.

24 The hymn aims to make the god vividly present for the audience, Bergren 1982: 84–86. In Kallimachos' *Hymn to Apollo*, the poem's so-called mimetic opening interweaves the performance of the hymn and the desired epiphany of the god revealing an awareness of this generic expectation.

25 We might also compare Ariphron's *Paian to Hygieia*, which enjoyed a resurgence of popularity during Mesomedes' time and was included in the Ottobonianus codex along with the kitharode's poems. This hymn emphasizes the poet's desire to be in his honorand's good graces (σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων ξυνείης, 2) and describes deriving Hygieia as being in her presence (μετὰ σεῖο, μάκαιρ' Ὑγίεια, / τέθαλε καὶ λάμπει Χαρίτων ὀάροις· / σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὔτις εὐδαίμων ἔφυ, 8–10). See Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 224–227 for a discussion of the poem's date.

26 "I use this term [*sc.* narration] to mean a speech-act in which a word or (much more often) a sequence of words is used to say of some person or thing that it did something or that something happened to it," Bowie 2010: 313. Similarly, in the introduction to the first volume in the Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative series, I.J.F. de Jong identifies two conditions necessary for narrative: the presence of a narrator and a sequence of two or more events, 2004: 1–10. Following the view of narratologists who also consider description as having a place within narratological theory, the hymnic aretology and perhaps even a single epithet may constitute a simple (if pregnant) form of narrative, n. 24.

description of action—only epithets and petitions. In the second poem (1b), it is easy to imagine the epithets telescoping out into full-blown narration, but as it stands, those tales go unnarrated. To borrow the distinction Bowie offers for narration in epigram, we might say that these poems offer a glimpse of what the gods *are*, not what they *do*. For the hymn, however, a crucial dimension of narrative is the relationships that the poet constructs. Thus, how he styles his honorand has enormous bearing on the success of his petition.[27] In this light, the so-called *pars epica* in Carl Ausfeld's tripartite schema of the hymn can do the work of an elaborated epithet. This is not to say that the four words of 1b.8 (Λατοῦς γόνε, Δήλιε Παιάν) are equally as effective at currying favor with Apollo as the 2,200 Kallimachos uses to describe Leto giving birth to Apollo on Delos in his longest hymn; yet both recall the same event and both use that recollection to win favor with their honorand within the χάρις economy of the hymn.

Against Generic Expectations

Five of the other extant poems of Mesomedes appear to be hymns as well. They include a philosophical trio addressed to Isis, Nemesis, and Nature as well as poems for Helios and the Adriatic Sea. None of these poems exhibits all the formal features of the Greek hymn either because they praise unusual addressees, they are more descriptive than they are persuasive, and/or they lack petitions. Due to the constraints of space, I focus on the hymns to Helios and the Adriatic because they best exemplify Mesomedes' innovative manipulation of hymnic narrative.

Hymn to Helios

Mesomedes' second hymn extols the awe and majesty of Helios, but lacks many of the formal features expected in a hymn. Even so, it features delighted gods and an imminent epiphany—hallmarks of the genre.

27 This line of interpretation does not imply the necessity of taking a hymnic petition at face value. Hymns of all varieties (e.g. cultic, Homeric, "literary"), in so far as they belong to a genre, engage with certain norms. The χάρις economy and the relationship between hymnist and honorand is central to the hymnist's rhetoric.

2. Εὐφαμείτω πᾶς αἰθήρ,
γῆ καὶ πόντος καὶ πνοιαί,
οὔρεα, τέμπεα σιγάτω,
ἦχοι φθόγγοι τ' ὀρνίθων·
μέλλει γὰρ †πορτ' ἡμᾶς βαίνειν
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμας εὐχαίτας.
χιονοβλεφάρου πάτερ Ἀοῦς,
ῥοδόεσσαν ὃς ἄντυγα πώλων
πτανοῖς ὑπ' ἴχνεσσι διώκεις,
χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κόμαις
περὶ νῶτον ἀπείριτον οὐρανοῦ
ἀκτῖνα πολύστροφον ἀμπλέκων,
αἴγλας πολυδερκέα πάναν[28]
περὶ γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἑλίσσων,
ποταμοὶ δὲ σέθεν πυρὸς ἀμβρότου
τίκτουσιν ἐπήρατον ἁμέραν.
σοὶ μὲν χορὸς εὔδιος ἀστέρων
κατ' Ὄλυμπον ἄνακτα χορεύει
ἄνετον μέλος αἰὲν ἀείδων
Φοιβηίδι τερπόμενος λύρᾳ,
γλαυκὰ δὲ πάροιθε Σελάνα
χρόνον ὥριον ἁγεμονεύει
λευκῶν ὑπὸ σύρμασι μόσχων·
γάνυται δέ τέ σοι νόος εὐμενής
πολυείμονα κόσμον ἑλίσσων.

Let the whole sky fall silent,
the earth and sea and gusts of wind,
let the mountains and valleys be silent,
so too the cacaphony of birds.
For Phoibos, his beautiful hair unshorn,
is about to walk among us.
O father of white-eyed Eos,
you who urge on your rosy chariot
of steeds with winged step,
exulting in your golden hair
as all round the boundless back of heaven
you weave your many-twisted rays,
the all-seeing thread of your radiance
you turn round the entire earth,
and the streams of your immortal flame
bring forth a delightful day.
For you, the calm chorus of stars
dances over lord Olympus
ever singing its relaxed tune
and taking pleasure in Phoibos' lyre,
before gleaming Selene
leads the seasons
down along the trail of her white calves.
Your gracious thoughts are brightened
as you pass over the splendidly clothed
kosmos.

Several scholars have argued that the first six lines of this poem constitute a separate prooimion for Apollo, which has come to be attached to a Helios hymn in the manuscript tradition. The main objection is an imagined incongruity in content between the Apollo and Helios portions, which is particularly difficult to understand given the widespread conflation of Apollo and Sol in the Roman empire in general and in Hadrianic ideology in particular.[29] Furthermore, it is not unusual for a single hymn to praise a constellation of related honorands

28 West 1992: 10 emends the manuscript reading of the paroxytone πάγαν to πάναν rather than correcting the accent to παγάν and thereby disrupting the relationship between melody and accent.

29 For a rejection of this view, see Whitmarsh 2004a: 377–402. See also Davies 2000: 75–101.

as is the case here. A careful reading of the whole poem reveals a balanced composition that implicates Phoibos in the hymning of Helios.

The narrator, the *hic et nunc* of his performance, and his audience are far from prominent in this hymn. Instead of emphasizing the relationship between hymnist and honorand, as in the prooimia we saw above, Mesomedes develops a macroscopic setting for his hymn to Helios that encompasses the entire kosmos. We see this immediately in the choice of imperative that begins the poem. Whereas most hymnic imperatives relate to the hymnist-honorand relationship (e.g. "you, do this for me"), the third person imperative, εὐφαμείτω,[30] recalls the command for ritual silence, εὐφημεῖτε, regularly given in cult contexts before an epiphany. Mesomedes projects this human practice onto the entire natural world in preparation for Apollo's impending epiphany (μέλλει γὰρ †πορτ' ἡμᾶς βαίνειν, 5). If other hymns show the hymnist trying to secure the god's appearance for his audience, this one represents it as a *fait accompli*. After the god's approach is announced, the poem shifts to praise for Helios.

Here we might be tempted to see a seam in the composition, an infelicitous jump from one poem to another. The continuity between the description of Apollo's beautiful unshorn hair (ἀκερσεκόμας εὐχαίτας, 6) and the delight Helios takes in his own golden locks (χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κόμαις, 10) argues against this interpretation. Mesomedes bridges the divide, linking Phoibos (ἀκερσεκόμης) and Helios (χρυσέα κόμη = χρυσοκόμης) by having them share in two key Apolline epithets.[31] A further reference to Apollo, this time in connection with his famed lyre, comes toward the end of the hymn (20) and recalls the reference to Apollo at the beginning. While it is possible to read this hymn as conflating the two gods, they retain some degree of autonomy as they appear in different contexts. Despite the crux at line 5, it is clear that Apollo goes on foot in the space between the earth and the heavens—the human world complete with its mountains, valleys, and birds. Helios, on the other hand, drives a chariot of winged steeds (8–9) outside of that space, circling the earth but working beyond the boundless back of the heavens (περὶ νῶτον ἀπείριτον οὐρανοῦ, 11). Nevertheless the poetry plays on polyvalence and slippage between Phoibos and Helios, interlacing praise for one with praise for the other; the gods are two of a kind and the effect is mutually reinforcing.[32]

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30 The call is repeated with another third person imperative σιγάτω (3), cf. Kallimachos *Hymn to Apollo* 17–24.

31 The 1st century AD philosopher Cornutus highlights the particular importance of these two epithets for Apollo, *De natura deorum* 66–67.

32 Cf. Mesomedes 1b.

Underlying this link between Phoibos and Helios is a deeper architecture that defies generic expectations for hymnic narrative. Instead of performing the hymn as an exchange between hymnist and honorand in front of an audience, Mesomedes reshapes the invocation as a third person account relating how Apollo, whose epiphany is announced in the first six lines, comes to inhabit the role of hymnist. Much to Helios' delight (24), the patron god of the lyre hymns his honorand while a star chorus led by Selene dances to his music in front of an audience comprised of the entire natural world.

Thus Mesomedes' poem involves two sequential and interlocking hymns. The first six lines represent the tail end of a successful, epiphany-inducing hymn to Apollo. Much like the Kallimachean narrator in the auto-reflexive *Hymn to Apollo*,[33] Mesomedes' narrator calls for silence and asserts rather than requests the arrival of the god he praises. In what follows, the frame of reference has shifted from a terrestrial to an extra-terrestrial stage. Here we see the earth, whose components were elaborated in the first four lines, taken as a whole (γαῖαν ἅπασαν, 14); the narrative focus shifts from one that could have been shared by performer and audience (ἡμᾶς, 5) to one that is exclusively the domain of the addressee. Whereas the audience could have pictured the mountains, the sea, and the birds all from their own experience, the sun, at which man cannot even look directly, operates above and beyond this world, moving across the immense back of Ouranos, passing over the entire kosmos.

In this new context, the hymnist now praises Helios, delighting the god and his cosmic audience by praising the god's features and accomplishments. The vocabulary used to describe this pleasure belongs to the hymnic register: ἀγάλλω (10) and εὐμενής (24) for the honorand and τέρπω (20) in reference to the star-chorus audience. We learn only retrospectively that the hymnist inspiring such delight is Apollo himself, who has taken up the lyre and assumed the role of poet in this second order hymn (20). Unlike the hymnist who includes himself in the world of the poem's opening, Apollo is at home on Olympus—a space that mediates the terrestrial and extraterrestrial in that it is itself a mountain (3), but also the focal point around which the star chorus dances (18).

The nested construction of this hymn, the narrator's relationship with the honorand, and the departure from traditional hymnic form make Mesomedes' hymn to Helios draw on well-established hymnic modes and yet radically defy generic expectations. If we collapse the two hymns—reconciling the conflat-

33 Auto-reflexivity is common in Greek poetry, particularly in hymns. See Calame 2004: 415–443.

able honorands (Apollo and Helios) and the human hymnist with Apollo, the divine hymnist—we see that Mesomedes here offers yet another variation on the *topos* of the divine inspiration of poetry. In addition to the three perspectives presented in the invocation of the muse (1a), we can see here a further way of conceptualizing the relationship between the poet and the inspiration he channels from the god of poetry.

Hymning the Adriatic

The Adriatic Sea is a decidedly atypical honorand[34] and for that reason some scholars do not consider Mesomedes 7 to be a hymn. Based largely on passages in Plato and then a variety of authors writing after Mesomedes, many scholars understand the ὕμνος as a genre of poetry that by definition is addressed to a god.[35] Even if this view were consistent with ancient sources and one widely held among Mesomedes' contemporaries, it remains very difficult to draw the boundaries of what precisely is meant by "god." The Greek term θεός represents a broad range of meanings and is far more difficult to pinpoint than the etymologically distinct Latin *deus*, which typically denotes a figure receiving cult.[36] Central to the Greek concept is a notion of permanence and pervasiveness that contrasts with the typically limited and ephemeral spheres of normal human lives. Thus, extraordinary things that exhibit greatness through their power and impact on the human world fall within the realm of entities that might merit a hymn.[37] In this sense, the Adriatic is not an unsuitable honorand, as Mesomedes demonstrates in the most formally hymnic of his hymns.

Ἀδρία βαθύπλου, πόθεν ἄρξομαι	(1)	O Adria, middle-goatherd of the sea thick with
ὑμνεῖν σε, μεσαιπόλε πόντου;		ships, whence shall I begin to hymn you?
πῶς ἢ τίς ἔτικτέ σε παγά		"What source produced you?" or "How?"

34 Cf. Aelius Aristides *Hymn to the Aegean Sea*, Hodkinson this volume, 146–148.

35 I investigate this claim in greater detail in a forthcoming article on Plato's conception of ὕμνος (Brumbaugh forthcoming).

36 See Henrichs 2010: 19–39; Burkert 1997: 15–34. Lipka 2009 offers a nuanced view of Roman divinity.

37 Hero cults and the deification of kings further problematize any attempt to narrowly define gods in the Graeco-Roman world. See Habicht 1970 and Currie 2005 for the Greek perspective; Gradel 2002 offers the Roman view.

ἢ πῶς τὸ πανόλβιον ὕδωρ
χθονὶ μὴ περικείμενον ἵσταται;
οὐ γὰρ βλέπετ' ἔνθεν †ἀκρόδρυα,[38]
οὐ βουκόλος, οὐ γένος ὀρνέων,
οὐ μηκάσι σύρισε ποιμήν·
ἔνθ' ὕδατα καὶ πλατὺς ἀήρ.
χορὸς εἰς σὲ πάλιν κέκλιτ' ἀστέρων
καὶ κέντρα φαεινὰ σελάνας
καὶ Πλειάδος ἀστέρες εὐγενεῖς.
δὸς ἰδεῖν χθόνα, δέσποτα, καὶ πόλιν,
ἀνέμους δὸς ἀπήμονας εὐδίους·
καὶ μητέρα γῆς ἐσιδὼν πόλιν
τότε σοι νεβρὸν εὔκερω θύσω.

or "How does your truly happy water
keep still, though it does not surround land?"
For the orchard cannot be seen from there
not the herdsman, not the birds,
not the shepherd piping for his goats,
just the waters and the expanse of air.
The chorus of stars tilts back into you
as does the moon's radiant spurs
and the noble stars of the Pleiades.
Let me see land, O Lord, and my city.
Grant me calm and propitious winds.
And when I look upon my homeland, my city,
then will I sacrifice a well-horned deer to you.

In this vivid and intimate poem, the narrator emphasizes his relationship to his honorand. As often in Greek hymns, the honorand's name is the poet's first utterance. In the remainder of the poem, the hymnist announces and begins his project (ἄρξομαι ὑμνεῖν σε, 1–2). While the semantic range of the verb ὑμνέω is broader than that of the noun ὕμνος, this conventional speech-act here constitutes a forceful generic assertion. Mesomedes makes good on this claim, expounding on his honorand's distinctive qualities for several lines and closing with a *da-ut-dem* prayer that makes two requests and promises further honors. These final lines put the hymn in perspective by clarifying the relationship between the first person narrator and the second person addressee in a mimetic scenario in which we are to imagine the narrator aboard a ship at sea longing to reach land. Not unlike the mimetic hymns of Kallimachos, the narrator implicates himself more fully in the narrative world internal to the poem.

A closer look at the poem's one-sided dialogue reveals that the hymnist's use of direct address contributes to an overall narrative strategy. The series of questions at the hymn's beginning sketches out an image of the Adriatic in the mind's eye, locating it in relation to the βαθύπλοος πόντος.[39] The Adriatic's

38 This is my conjecture for the corrupted ἀπωροφά of the manuscript. It is clear from context that the corrupt word describes some feature of the landscape, inacccessible to the narrator.

39 The exact nature of that relationship is somewhat clouded by the obscure μεσαιπόλε, a hapax which means something like middle shepherd (μέσος αἰπόλος). The term might also be construed as "middle-roaming" by analogy with μεσαι-πόλιος ("half-grey") and νυκτι-πόλος ("night-roaming"). Either interpretation would be available to the audience,

immensity both as a topic and a geographic feature is suggested by πόθεν, "*from where* shall I begin to hymn you," capitalizing on the literal and figurative meaning of the question in contrast with the more straightforward πῶς used by Kallimachos in a similar inquiry at the beginning of his hymn to Zeus. The narrator's direct address to the Adriatic fills out the mental picture for the hymn's audience.

The brief narrative description that follows is no longer addressed to the Adriatic. It picks up where the questioning left off, on land: "For the orchard[40] cannot be seen from there / not the herdsman, not the birds, / not the shepherd piping to his goats" (6–8). The sea's vastness is again stressed, this time indirectly by describing what is not perceivable from sea, namely the tree-tops, the birds, and, in a synesthetic shift, the sound of a piping ποιμήν, easily associated with the herdsman/poet figure common in Greek poetry.[41] The picture is completed with a description of the heavens overhanging the vast expanse of water and air: "just the waters and broad air can be seen from there. / The chorus of stars tilts back into you / and the moon's radiant spurs / and the noble stars of the Pleiades" (9–12). In a dozen verses, the narrator has provided a complete picture of the hymn's internal world. The sea, the distant land, and the heavens are presented together in harmony. The star chorus even dances to the accompaniment of the piping shepherd.

A metapoetic echo of the narrator, this poet-shepherd appears as a focalizer at the center of the world just described. The characterization of the honorand as a goatherd (μεσ-αιπόλος, 2) and the inclusion of a cowherd (βουκόλος, 7) underscore his position at the center of the hymn. Spatial adverbs answering the πόθεν of the first line fixes this scene on land by marking the sea out as explicitly elsewhere (ἔνθεν, 6; ἔνθ', 9). Yet in the final lines, the narrator abruptly reorients the audience's perspective on this metaphor-rich landscape by revealing himself to be a passenger aboard a ship in the vast expanse of the Adriatic Sea.[42] "Let me see land, O Lord, and my city. / Grant me calm and propitious winds. / And when I look upon my city, my homeland / then I will sacrifice a well-horned deer to you" (13–16). What seemed to be the diegetic world of the hymn is now re-figured as the mimetic world of the narrator,

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but the focus on herders in the lines that follow might encourage understanding it as an αἰπόλος compound.

40 MS ἀπωροφα, Wilamowitz απορροά, Horna ἀποστροφά, MEB ἀκρόδρυα.

41 For a history of this figure in Greek literature, see Gutzwiller 1991: 23–82.

42 Mesomedes' *Hymn to Isis*, which precedes the *Hymn to the Adriatic* in the manuscript, opens with a reference to a hymn rising up from a ship at sea. Whoever is responsible for the order of the poems may have seen this an oblique reference to the following hymn.

who experiences the poem first-hand. Upon re-reading, we see that the entire narrative fits with this new perspective. Instead of being outside the narrative, looking in—the narrator was always on the inside, looking out, describing the sea around him, the land he could not see in the distance, and the passage of time from the origins of the Adriatic, to the moving of the stars above, and the sacrifice he would make once he returned home.

Conclusion

In Greek hymns, the narrator's relationship with his honorand, usually substantiated in the invocation and request, can be a lens for interpreting the poem. At the same time, however, the connection between this relationship and the narrative may be subtle, and in many cases the narrative can stand alone, outside its hymnic frame. In fact, the *Homeric Hymns* are often thought of in precisely this way. We can almost imagine the opening invocation and the closing request as book covers, common to hymns long and short. In this analogy, then, the narrative is the story in between the covers. If one removed it from the front and back cover, one would still have the text, little worse for wear. Some even imagine the shorter *Homeric Hymns* as being empty husks,[43] or in this case, book covers, identical to the longer hymns, just missing their narrative. In this sense, Mesomedes' hymns are completely different. Presented in short compass, the *Hymn to the Adriatic*, like the author's other poems, necessarily collapses the distinction between narrative and hymnic frame. Mesomedes is able to create a dynamic, rather than static, narrative world in his hymn; one complete with sights and sounds, three dimensional geography, and time—past, present, and future. His narrator makes all the same overtures and requests of his honorand, but unlike most other hymns, the apostrophe and the request do not surround the hymn's narrative, they create it.

Generic labeling, particularly at such a chronological and cultural remove, is an artificial practice that generally attempts to apply order and precision to an inherently complex system of discourse. To the extent that it was an ancient preoccupation, pinning down genres was a concern of cataloguers, compilers, and theorists rather than of poets and audiences. That being said, Mesomedes' poetry existed within a complex cultural framework where it was necessarily measured—whether implicitly or explicitly—against other forms of discourse that were similar and dissimilar in manifold ways. What makes the "hymn" and

43 Parker 1991: 1.

its narrative traditions useful in our reading of Mesomedes is that familiarity with the conventions of that genre allows an audience, ancient or modern, to better appreciate crucial dimensions of his poetry. Mesomedes explicitly marks his poem as hymn to establish an interpretive frame of reference.

Reading the poems on Helios and the Adriatic within a hymnic framework helps us to see them as nuanced works of praise poetry. This, in turn, allows us to be more sensitive to the way these poems relate to both the literary tradition and to their contemporary historical context. We might then note the special significance of a hymn praising Ἥλιος and another praising Ἀδρία for their far-reaching power and divinity, written under the patronage of one Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Ἁδριανός—the Hellenophile emperor known today as Hadrian. Reading these poems through the lens of praise poetry, we see what must have been an obvious connection for contemporary audiences. Particularly given the importance of solar imagery in Hadrianic ideology, it is a very small jump from Ἥλιος to the emperor's nomen, Αἴλιος, and the Latin "Aelius" may have been seen as a latinization of the Greek word for the sun.[44] Furthermore, the emperor's family, the Spanish Hadriani ("the ones from Adria"), traced their Italian roots to the coast town of Adria—the namesake of the sea Mesomedes hymns.[45] A hymn praising the centrality (μεσαιπόλε πόντου, 2) of master (δέσποτα, 13) Adria would be consistent with imperial ideology,[46]especially that of an emperor from the periphery who may have needed to assert his *Romanitas*.[47]

44 Davies 2000: 82.

45 Whitmarsh 2004a: 387–388.

46 On which, see Whitmarsh 2004a.

47 If the *Historia Augusta* (Hadr. 3.1) is to be believed, ridicule from the Roman elite may have forced Hadrian to eschew his provincial accent. See Adams 2007: 231–232. Pliny's reticence in his Panegyricus to discuss the Spanish origins of Hadrian's predecessor and fellow Baetican, Trajan, may suggest some distaste in Rome for a Spanish emperor. See Braund 2012: 91.

CHAPTER 9

A Philosopher and His Muse: The Narrative of Proclus' Hymns

*N. Devlin**

The short philosophical hymns of Proclus—none of them more than around fifty lines long and some fewer than twenty—are not, perhaps, the first place one would expect to find hymnic narrative. Certainly, anyone hoping to find in them the kind of sequential storytelling we are used to from the *Homeric Hymns* and Callimachus would be disappointed. Yet it is clear from the structure and language of the hymns that Proclus knew the conventions of the hymn genre very well and was concerned to evoke the traditional hymn form in all its parts, including the central narrative section. Different as Proclus' treatment of narrative may be from that of his archaic and later models, a careful reading of the hymns shows that narrative remains a vital element in them. In this chapter I look at the way Proclus was adapting the structure and conventions of narrative hymn form. I set the narrative of the hymns in the context of his Neoplatonic doctrines, of contemporary allegorising interpretation of myth and of the use of imagery in contemporary philosophical and moralising texts. Finally, I consider the significant role of prayer in Proclus' hymns: how it reflects the importance of prayer in Neoplatonic theology and how it influences Proclus' own unique approach to hymnic narrative. For the most significant narrative in these hymns is not to be found in the central section of each, in the celebrations of the myths of individual gods. It is rather—as will emerge—to be pieced together from elements within the text of the hymns as a whole: an *implicit* narrative, of individual aspiration, whose purpose is not simply to celebrate the god, but to assist the worshipper himself towards the distinctive spiritual goals of the Neoplatonic philosopher. What we have here, I shall argue, is not a continuation but a distinctive and unique transformation of the tradition.

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Proclus' Adaptation of Hymn Form

The seven surviving hymns of Proclus represent a tiny proportion both of his existing works and, no doubt, of the large number of hymns he must have composed during a lifetime of religious observance.[1] In the guise of traditional hymn form, these seven gave poetic and practical expression to the Neoplatonic theology set out in Proclus' prose works, in which he strives to reconcile the traditional Greek pantheon with a complex metaphysical hierarchy. The hymns combine religious emotion and intellectual earnestness in equal measure and, in a rapidly changing world, expressed a steadfast loyalty to the ancient gods—albeit in a form their ancient worshippers might have struggled to recognise.[2]

Hymn 3 to the Muses gives us a conveniently short, yet representative example of Proclus' style:

ὑμνέομεν, μερόπων ἀναγώγιον ὑμνέομεν φῶς,
ἐννέα θυγατέρας μεγάλου Διὸς ἀγλαοφώνους,
αἳ ψυχὰς κατὰ βένθος ἀλωομένας βιότοιο
ἀχράντοις τελετῇσιν ἐγερσινόων ἀπὸ βίβλων
γηγενέων ῥύσαντο δυσαντήτων ὀδυνάων
καὶ σπεύδειν ἐδίδαξαν ὑπὲρ βαθυχεύμονα λήθην
ἴχνος ἔχειν, καθαρὰς δὲ μολεῖν ποτὶ σύννομον ἄστρον,
ἔνθεν απεπλάγχθησαν, ὅτ᾽ ἐς γενεθλήϊον ἀκτὴν
κάππεσον, ὑλοτραφέσσι περὶ κλήροισι μανεῖσαι.
ἀλλά, θεαί, καὶ ἐμεῖο πολυπτοίητον ἐρωὴν
παύσατε καὶ νοεροῖς με σοφῶν βακχεύσατε μύθοις·
μηδέ μ᾽ ἀποπλάγξειεν ἀδεισιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν
ἀτραπιτοῦ ζαθέης, ἐριφεγγέος, ἀγλαοκάρπου,
αἰεὶ δ’ἐξ ὁμάδοιο πολυπλάγκτοιο γενέθλης
ἕλκετ᾽ ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παναλήμονα πρὸς φάος ἁγνόν,
ὑμετέρων βρίθουσαν ἀεξινόων ἀπὸ σίμβλων
καὶ κλέος εὐεπίης φρενοθελγέος αἰὲν ἔχουσαν.

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1 Text: Vogt 1957, with usefully wide-ranging *apparatus fontium et locorum similium*. Life: Masullo 1985. For a thorough analysis of the philosophical background and content of the hymns, see Van den Berg's illuminating study 2001. This paper originates in the final chapter of a broader survey of the development of hymn form: Devlin 1994.

2 "Even a century and a half after the battle for the public faith of the empire was lost to Christianity, the philosopher Proclus would still be writing, in the mood of a still evening after thunder, intimate hymns to the gods and a totally pagan *Elements of Theology*"; Brown 1971: 73.

We hymn, we hymn the light that draws man aloft,
The nine lovely-voiced daughters of great Zeus,
Who with immaculate rites, out of intellect-awakening books,
Save souls wandering in the abyss of life
From earth-born pains, hard to face,
And teach them to strive to hold a path above the deep gulf of forgetfulness,
And to come in purity to their kindred star
From which they strayed, when they fell to the headland of birth,
Mad for a portion of material existence.
Now, goddesses, put an end to my distraught yearning also,
And throw me into ecstasy with the noeric words of the wise.
Nor let the race of ungodfearing men turn me away
From the most divine, most brilliant path, with its glorious fruit,
But ever from the din of much wandering mortality
Drag my vagabond soul towards the holy light,
Laden from your intellect-augmenting hives,
And endowned with everlasting fame for eloquence that charms the mind.[3]

In its structure this is a typical example of hexameter hymn form. It opens with a statement of theme, ὑμνέομεν; compare Callimachus' hymn 3.2 and the many similar statements in the opening lines of the *Homeric Hymns*: for example, ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν (2, 11, 13), ᾄσομαι, ἀείσομαι (6, 10, 15), μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι (3). In the opening lines of the *Homeric Hymns*, the god's name and the statement of theme, or invocation, must begin or end a verse, and Proclus follows this practice here, with ὑμνέομεν and ἐννέα θυγατέρας beginning the first and second verses with the descriptive phrase μερόπων ἀναγώγιον … φῶς in between. The central section (lines 3 to 9), corresponding to the "narrative" section in the *Homeric Hymns*, is introduced by means of a relative clause, as regularly in the *Homeric Hymns* and throughout the hymn tradition.[4] There follows the prayer (lines 10 to 17), the transition effected, according to convention, by ἀλλά.[5]

Structurally there are no surprises here; we have several clear indicators of genre—triadic form, statement of theme, laudatory epithets, transitional

3 Translations of Proclus are from Van den Berg: 2001, with adaptations.

4 See e.g. *Homeric Hymn* 5.2 and *Homeric Hymns passim*; *Theogony* 22; Callimachus hymn 3.2, and Norden 1913: 168 ff.

5 See e.g. *Iliad* 1.393, 508, 8.242 and in prayers *passim*; *Homeric Hymn* 2.490, 20.8; Pindar *Olympian* 2.12, 4.6.

devices and so on. What is unusual is, firstly, the relative contraction of the middle ("narrative") section and expansion of the "concluding" prayer (which occupies just under half the length of the hymn) and, secondly and most strikingly, the content.

Line 2 is lifted verbatim from Hesiod, *Theogony* 76, but for the substitution of ἐκγεγαυῖαι for ἀγλαοφώνους; otherwise, the language of this hymn is highly allusive, laden with compound epithets and entirely obscure to those not familiar with Proclus' thought. Apart from the archaisms, the language is full of expressions which have virtually become the technical terms of Neoplatonic theology, and would have been incomprehensible to anyone not familiar with the doctrine.

We shall return to the narrative element of Hymn 3 shortly, but let us first set it in context. Proclus was not the first to have employed the hymn form as a vehicle for philosophical doctrines. A century earlier, Julian had composed long prose hymns to Helios and the Mother of the Gods; but there is a closer parallel to what Proclus is doing in the hexameter hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes, who from 262 BC was head of the Stoa, as Proclus was of the Academy. Cleanthes communicates a Stoic view of Zeus within a conventional hymn form, using predominantly archaising and especially epic language.[6] In Proclus, the archaising language is more heavily overlaid with philosophical imagery and terminology than in Cleanthes' hymn, but it is hard to imagine that he was not aware of his important Stoic predecessor.

Other influences suggest themselves. The metre, Homericisms and fondness for compound epithets of Proclus' hymns seem also at first to show a superficial resemblance to the Orphic hymns, but whereas those consist almost entirely of long strings of flattering epithets, his own compositions are much more varied and sophisticated in structure. The hymns may also reflect the language of the Chaldaean Oracles, which were vitally important to Proclus in formulating his own doctrines especially in the field of theurgy, but as we have so little material left this is difficult to measure.[7]

By his strong adherence to traditional form, and to some extent by his curious archaising language, Proclus wishes to make it clear that, however far his views of the gods may have advanced beyond that of earlier hymnodists, he is part of the same tradition. As in the *Homeric Hymns*, his concluding prayers often include a plea for success and recognition as a poet.[8] Thus he

6 On Cleanthes' hymn see Hopkinson 1988: 131–136; Devlin 1994: 288–289.

7 On the Chaldaean oracles and their influence on Proclus see Van den Berg 2001: 67–70.

8 *Homeric Hymns* 10, 24, 26, 6 (including a prayer for victory in a competition).

makes the conventional requests for inspiration and eloquence (κλέος εὐεπίης φρενοθελγέος, 3.17), for renown (κλέος, 7.48, εὐκλεία, 1.43, προεδρίην ἐνὶ λαοῖς 7.50) and for the god to accept his hymn as an offering (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρην ὑποδέχνυσο, πότνα, θυηλὴν εὐεπίης, 5.12–13). To these, he adds a new prayer of his own: to follow in the steps of his literary predecessors:

> προγόνων τ' ἐνὶ θεσμοῖς
> Μουσάων ἐρασιπλοκάμων δώροισι μέλοιμην.
> *Hymn* 1.43 f.

> That in accord with the traditions of my forefathers,
> I may cultivate the gifts of the Muses with pretty locks.

Proclus diverges in one significant respect from the traditional tripartite hymnic structure, and that is—as we see in Hymn 3—in the relative weight he gives to the prayer section. He extends it so that it accounts for at least a third to a half of the total length of each hymn. Between the invocation and the prayer, the space given to the central "narrative" section tends to be small by comparison. Nonetheless the narrative element of the hymns is highly significant and has its own vital part to play, as we shall see.

The Philosophical Background

Proclus' theology is a product of the Neoplatonic theory of Emanation and its three stages of Abiding, Procession and Reversion. Proclus analysed and explained this system meticulously in the *Elements of Theology* and the *Platonic Theology* and his own system in turn has been extensively analysed and discussed by modern scholars.[9] According to the theory of Emanation, everything in the pluralist universe of our experience is generated by the overflowing of perfect goodness, or unity, or reality from a supreme cause or One. This generates, in an ever-widening cascade, a progressively greater plurality of beings, which partake of the nature of the One in ever-decreasing proportions. All these beings desire to return to the source from which they derive that portion of true reality or goodness. Thus, Proclus' gods are metaphysical abstrac-

9 See, e.g., Wallis 1995: 61–67, 132–133; Dodds 1963: *Propositions* 25–39 with commentary and, on the virtues and limitations of Proclus's systematisation, Introduction xxv–vi; Van den Berg 2001: *passim*.

tions, each of which has its place in a complicated hierarchy which progresses from a supreme being or One at the top (that is, at the highest level of reality) through successive stages down to the lowest level (that is, the world of plurality, or material existence). Between the One—τὸ Ἕν—and the world of plurality, there are gods, or Henads, through whom beings at lower levels may participate in the unity of the One. Each Henad heads a chain, or σειρά, of dependent beings on descending levels of reality, and these individual levels display more or less of the nature of that particular Henad depending on how far removed they are from the top of the chain. The term originates in an image taken from Zeus' challenge to the other gods at the beginning of Iliad 8.[10]

A traditional god's name can be given to several different levels on one *seira*. Arguing in his treatise *in Rempublicam* against Plato's criticism of Achilles' apparently impious words to Apollo, Proclus claims that they are addressed to a daemon low on Apollo's *seira*, and not to the god himself.[11] The term appears frequently in the *Hymns*, where it denotes an attribute common to all the gods. "Divine power" is part of its meaning, but at the same time it refers to the whole sequence of deities generated by that power. We also find in the hymns the term πηγή, or source, denoting the head of the *seira*.

To consider the theory of Emanation as it applies to individual mortals: within the soul there resides a spark of the One from whom it is descended, which—though it is irresistibly drawn down and away to the pleasures of material existence—makes it long to reascend back up to that perfect unity and goodness. If we now return to *Hymn* 3 we can see that the description of the Muses closely reflects the processes of procession and reversion. The Muses are an upward-leading light (ἀναγώγιον φῶς, 1); they have saved souls from their wandering in the depths of material existence (κατὰ βένθος ἀλωομένας βιότοιο, 3) by means of books that arouse the mind (ἐγερσινόων ἀπὸ βίβλων, 4) from the deep waves of oblivion (βαθυχεύμονα λήθην, 6; the deep sea is repeatedly used by Proclus as a metaphor for material existence). Having fallen, through their crazed desire for earthly pleasures (ὑλοτραφέσσι περὶ κλήροισι μανεῖσαι, 9), to the shore of coming-to-be (γενεθλήιον ἀκτήν, 8—the sea metaphor again) the souls have learnt from the Muses to tread a path above the enticements of this world, that lead them to forget their origins, and to return in a state of purity to the place from whence they came.

10 εἰ δ' ἄγε πειρήσασθε, θεοί, ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες· σειρὴν χρυσείην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες πάντες τ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θεαίναι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαι τ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίονδε Ζῆν' ὕπατον μήστωρ', οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε. *Iliad* 8.18–22.

11 *in Rempublicam* I.147.6 ff.

This description of the Muses, then, expresses a purely Neoplatonic view of the gods, whilst formally it is entirely in line with the conventions of the ancient narrative hymn. Proclus is celebrating the Muses through a description of their habitual activity, such as we find in the narrative sections of many *Homeric Hymns*; for example, the description in *Homeric Hymn* 5 of Aphrodite's power over the wild beasts. In the *Homeric Hymns*, and in the hymns of Callimachus, such descriptions of the god's "appearance, possessions, haunts, and spheres of activity" appear either together with or as an alternative to past-tense narrative. Janko distinguished the two types with the terms "Attributive" and "Mythical."[12] "Attributive" passages are generally in the present tense, but (as here) not always or entirely. In the *Homeric Hymns* and in those of Callimachus, the gods are celebrated and their worshippers informed about their nature by means of both "Attributive" and "Mythical" material. The hymns of Proclus also contain both types, as we shall see.

These goddesses, who inspire errant souls through the rites of sacred books to strive to reascend to their origins, appear very different from their ancient namesakes. Yet Proclus' near-exact quotation in line 2 from the description of the Muses in the *Theogony* is unequivocal: these are the same goddesses, but seen in their true form, through the enlightened eyes of the philosopher.

Hymn 3 is short, and beyond line 2 makes no reference to myth. Proclus' two longest hymns, on the other hand, make extensive reference to it.

Myth in the Longer Hymns

The later Platonists all agreed that the truth of traditional myths did not lie in their literal, surface detail, although they offered a variety of explanations for its allegorical function and value. In the Academy, the exegesis of myth as a vehicle for profound truths played a crucial part in pagan arguments against Christianity.[13] According to Sallustius, myths are handed down from the gods through the divine inspiration of poets, philosophers, founders of rites and oracles.[14] They represent the divine nature in every aspect. The curious, even

12 Janko 1981: 11–13: "Attributive" narrative, in the present tense, is "a generalised description of the god's nature as reflected in his haunts, his offices and functions … or in his habitual pursuits"; "Mythical" narrative, in the past tense, is "an 'epic' narrative, recounting a particular episode … from the god's life-history."

13 Wallis 1995: 135–137; on the Neoplatonic use of Homer, Lamberton 1986: especially Chapter 5 on Proclus.

14 Nock 1926: Chapters 3 and 4, and Introduction xliii ff.

ostensibly impious nature of many myths is intended at once to stimulate the intellect of the wise to inquiry, and to act as a veil protecting the truth from the gaze of the profane. The word Proclus uses for allegory is *symbolon*, which is also used to describe certain entities which embody and conceal the true nature of the highest metaphysical beings, and can thus be used in theurgical ritual to bring the mortal soul closer to them. There is a fair case—beyond our scope to explore further here—for believing that Proclus regarded poems which contained these myths, such as the hymns, as having theurgical power.[15]

For the most part, the mythical content of Proclus' hymns is limited to passing allusions, just detailed enough to remind one of the myth's allegorical message. The two longer hymns, however, to Helios (1) and Athena (7), do have extended central sections which, unlike Hymn 3, contain elements of traditional myth. This gives them a more obvious structural resemblance to the original hexameter hymns.

Hymn 7 to Athena has an extended "mythical" section taking up a little under half the hymn. This is not a continuous exposition of a single episode of Athena's history, but a list of about half a dozen brief mythological allusions. The repetition of ἥ, beginning the verse at the start of each section, creates the effect of an aretalogy rather than narrative,[16] but the intention—to celebrate and inform—is the same. The subjects are: victory over the Giants (1–8), the preservation of her virginity from Hephaestus (9–10), the rescue of Dionysus' heart from the Titans (11–15), the slaying of Hecate's many-headed attendants (16–17), gifts of *arete* and *techne* to man (18–20), her possession of the Acropolis (21–22), and her contest with Poseidon for patronage of Athens (23–30).

The overarching theme of all these tales is the supremacy of divine reason over earthbound, irrational might, of which the Giants, sons of Earth, for example, are a well-established symbol, in contrast with the aetherial Athena;[17] in

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15 On theurgy in Proclus see Sheppard 1980: 145–161, supported by Van den Berg 2001: 86–101.

16 Cf. Van den Berg 2001: 279. The first of the 8 cola is a participial phrase, however, not a relative clause.

17 The orator Aristides, in his hymn to Athena, describes them as opposite in kind and essentially hostile to her: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κοιλῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ τῶν ἀλογωτάτων, ἡ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι (Oration 37.9). There are a number of parallels between this hymn and Aristides'. Besides the subduing of the Giants, Aristides also refers to the Titans (albeit by aposiopesis, s. 9). He describes at some length Athena's gift of skills to mankind (ss. 12–16). Finally, both make puns on Athena's reign over the Acropolis. The orator relates her connection with the citadels of cities to her birth from Zeus' head, while the Neoplatonist makes the honour reflect Athena's position on the top of her *seira*.

other hymns, Proclus speaks of γηγενέων ὀδυνάων (3.5), γηγενέος ἐρωῆς (5.5). Hephaestus' frustrated desire for Athena is explained by two passages from Proclus' commentary on the Timaeus as the longing of *physis* for the organising power: "For Hephaestus always and wholly desires Athena, imitating her intellectual creations with his sensible ones."[18] In the story of the dismemberment of Dionysus, the forces of irrationality are represented by the Titans. Tales of dismemberment had a special significance for Neoplatonists, as allegories of the descent of the One to the many.[19] The slaying of the Hounds of Hecate is yet another portrayal of reason conquering the passions. Even Athene's handiness in all kinds of crafts, πολυειδέσι τέχναις, is described as δημοεργείην νοερήν, suggesting that the practice of them stimulates the νοερόν, or rational, part of the soul.[20]

Proclus then turns to Athena's patronage of Athens (21–30): the Acropolis is a σύμβολον ἀκροτάτης μεγάλης σέο, πότνια, σειρῆς (22).[21] The city herself is "mother of books" endowed by Athena with "noble minds," a clear reference to the Academy and to Proclus' students. Reason's victory over Passion is portrayed one more time, in terms of the contest between Athena and Poseidon. Athena prevails, βιησαμένη πόθον ἱρόν (24). Poseidon's response is a great wave, πάντα πολυφλοίσβοιον ἑοῖς ῥεέθροισιν ἱμάσσον (30). Once again, as in Hymn 3.6, we find the sea representing the chaos of earthly existence—a theme to which we shall return.

In short, Proclus does not take up the opportunity to emulate his hymnodist predecessors by developing any kind of extended account. It is the hidden meaning of the myth that concerns him, not the surface detail.

The central section of Hymn 1 to Helios, occupying just over half of the hymn's total length of fifty lines, exemplifies a different approach and is typical of Proclus' ingenuity in combining traditional hymnic content and language with Neoplatonic ideas.

> κλῦθι, πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ, χρυσήνιε Τιτάν,
> κλῦθι, φάους ταμία, ζωαρκέος, ὦ ἄνα, πηγῆς
> αὐτὸς ἔχων κληῖδα καὶ ὑλαίοις ἐνὶ κόσμοις
> ὑψόθεν ἁρμονίης ῥύμα πλούσιον ἐξοχετεύων,
> κέκλυθι· μεσσατίην γὰρ ἔχων ὑπὲρ αἰθέρος ἕδρην

18 *In Timaeum* 144.10–12, see Van den Berg 2001: 286.

19 Tales of dismemberment attracted a variety of allegorical interpretations in antiquity; see Van den Berg 2001: 289 and cf. Wind 1968: 133 n. 45, 134 n. 19.

20 For the hierarchy of the gods see table, Van den Berg 2001: 40.

21 On the Acropolis as *symbolon* see Van den Berg 2001: 106.

καὶ κόσμου κραδιαῖον ἔχων ἐριφεγγέα κύκλον
πάντα τεῆς ἔπλησας ἐγερσινόοιο προνοίης.
ζωσάμενοι δὲ πλάνητες ἀειθαλέας σέο πυρσοὺς
αἰὲν ὑπ’ ἀλλήκτοισι καὶ ἀκαμάτοισι χορείαις
ζῳογόνους πέμπουσιν ἐπιχθονίοις ῥαθάμιγγας.
πᾶσα δ’ ὑφ’ ὑμετέρῃσι παλιννόστοισι διφρείαις
Ὡράων κατὰ θεσμὸν ἀνεβλάστησε γενέθλη.
στοιχείων δ’ ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντων
παύσατο σεῖο φανέντος απ’ ἀρρήτου γενετῆρος.
σοὶ δ’ ὑπὸ Μοιράων χορὸς εἴκαθεν ἀστυφέλικτος·
ἂψ δὲ μεταστρωφῶσιν ἀναγκαίης λίνον αἴσης,
εὖτε θέλεις· περὶ γὰρ κρατέεις, περὶ δ’ ἶφι ἀνάσσεις.
σειρῆς δ’ ὑμετέρης βασιλεὺς θεοπειθέος οἴμης
ἐξέθορεν Ποῖβος· κιθάρῃ δ’ ὑπὸ θέσκελα μέλπων
εὐνάζει μέγα κῦμα βαρυφλοίσβοιο γενέθλης.
σῆς δ’ ἀπὸ μειλιχόδωρος ἀλεξικάκου θιασιείης
Παιήων βλάστησεν, ἑὴν δ’ ἐπέτασσεν ὑγείην,
πλήσας ἁρμονίης παναπήμονος εὐρέα κόσμον.
σὲ κλυτὸν ὑμνείουσι Δωνύσοιο τοκῆα·
ὕλης δ’ αὖ νεάτοις ἐνὶ βένθεσιν εὔιον [Αττην,
ἄλλοι δ’ ἁβρὸν [Αδωνιν ἐπευφήμησαν ἀοιδαῖς.
δειμαίνουσι δὲ σεῖο θοῆς μάστιγος ἀπειλὴν
δαίμονες ἀνθρώπων δηλήμονες, ἀγριόθυμοι,
ψυχαῖς ἡμετέραις δυεραῖς κακὰ πορσύνοντες,
ὄφρ’ αἰεὶ κατὰ λαῖτμα βαρυσμαράγου βιότοιο
σώματος ὀτλεύωσιν ὑπὸ ζυγόδεσμα πεσοῦσαι,
ὑψιτένους δὲ λάθοιντο πατρὸς πολυφεγγέος αὐλῆς.

Hear, king of noeric fire, Titan holding the golden bridle,
Hear, dispenser of light, O Lord, who yourself
Hold the key of the life-supporting source, and in the material worlds
Channel off from above a rich stream of harmony.
Hear; for holding the midmost seat above the aither
And holding the utterly brilliant disc at the heart of the cosmos
You fill all with your intellect-awakening providence.
And girded with your ever-blossoming torches, the planets ever, in unceasing and unwearying dance,
Send life-giving drops to those on earth.
Under the influence of your chariot's returning courses
All that is born springs up according to the ordinance of the Seasons.

The clash of elements, one against the other,
Ceased when you appeared out of your ineffable sire.
To you the unshakeable chorus of the Fates gives way;
Back again they wind the thread of compelling destiny,
When you wish it. For all around you are dominant, all around you rule by might.
From your *seira* sprang the king of the song that obeys the divine,
Phoibos. Singing inspired songs to the kithara
He calms the great wave of deep-roaring coming-to-be.
From your sweet-gift-giving, evil-averting rites
Paieon sprouted, and imposed his gift of health
Filling the wide cosmos with harmony all free from harm.
Men hymn you as the famous father of Dionysos,
And again in the deepest depths of matter some praise you as Euios Attis
And others as pretty Adonis.
They fear your swift whip,
The demons, baneful to men, wild-tempered,
Who prepare evil for our miserable souls,
So that forever in the deep swell of heavy-thundering life
They suffer, falling under the yoke of the body,
And forget the bright-shining court of their father raised on high.

Proclus celebrates Helios in turn as a planetary god (1–17), as the head of a *seira* (18–26) and finally as a defender against demons (27–32), in hymnic "Du-Stil" throughout. The narrative alternates between present and past tenses, but the first part is broadly "attributive" in character, the second "mythical." The "attributive" part begins in Line 5 with the image of Helios occupying the "shining circle at the heart of the cosmos" and surrounded by the planets. Their ceaseless eternal movement is effectively evoked by repetition and assonance: ἀειθαλέας, αἰὲν, ἀλλήκτοισι καὶ ἀκαμάτοισι (8–9). Echoes of epic vocabulary in ἐπιχθονίοις, ῥαθάμιγγας (10) help to elevate the tone and the many compound adjectives add to the epic flavour. The sense of unceasing motion is sustained in the description of the Sun's chariot, παλιννόστοισι διφρείαις (11). Κατὰ θεσμόν (12) reminds us of the immense orderly system of which these eternal wheelings are a part. Order and harmony in the cosmos represent the outflow of unity from the One into the aimless plurality of matter, controlled by Helios at the centre of it all.

Lines 13 to 17 celebrate Helios' power through a description of his effect on other forces within the cosmos, and here we have an ingenious adaptation

of a major *topos* of the traditional narrative hymn. Proclus describes how he calms the restless elements, στοιχείων δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς παύσατο σεῖο φανέντος,[22] and how even Fate itself gives way to him: σοὶ δ' ὑπὸ Μοιράων χόρος εἴκαθεν ἀστυφέλικτος· ἂψ δὲ μεταστρωφῶσιν ἀναγκαίης λίνον αἴσης; this description of the Moirai, winding back their thread in deference to Helios, is a striking image of the god's power, especially if we recall what Hera said to Zeus about the inadvisability of a god tampering with fate.[23] The manifestation of divinity through an epiphany, birth scene or other display of supernatural power forms a turning point in the narrative of many of the *Homeric Hymns*. It often takes the form of a description of the reaction to the presence of a god by the natural world. Thus, when Aphrodite makes her way to Mount Ida in *Homeric Hymn* 5.70 ff., wild beasts forget their habitual ferocity and become fawning, then amorous; and in *Hymn* 33 to the Dioscuri the appearance of the two gods has a calming effect on wind and wave:

> οἳ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν …
> αὐτίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας,
> κύματα δ' ἐστορέσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν
> *Hymn* 33.12–17

> … suddenly they appear ….. and at once they make the fierce squalls cease, and lay the waves amid the flats of a clear sea …[24]

In Proclus' intellectualised universe, it is the clashing of the elements that is stilled by the god's presence. The phrase σεῖο φανέντος (13) deliberately evokes the conventional epiphany scene.[25]

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22 Harsh noise is one of the characteristics of the material world; with στοιχείων δ' ὀρυμαγδός compare the phrases βαρυφλοίσβοιο γενέθλης, βαρυσμαράγου βιότοιο a few lines on (20, 30, cp. 7.30).

23 *Iliad* 16.40 ff. There is further Homeric allusion at the end of the passage: περὶ γὰρ κρατέεις, περι δ' ἶφι ἀνάσσεις—the first phrase echoes words addressed to Achilles (for example *Iliad* 21.214), the second, appropriately enough, Chryses' invocation of one of Helios' manifestations, Apollo (*Iliad* 1.37 = 451).

24 Translation by West: 2003.

25 Contrast—again in a philosophical context—Lucretius' entirely traditional treatment of the hymnic epiphany scene in his opening invocation to Venus, *de Rerum Natura* 6–20. Cf. *Homeric Hymn* 5.69–74 and, for a recent discussion of the debate over L.'s proem, Asmis 2007.

Instead of a continuous narrative, we are given a series of illustrations of Helios' power, no more than a couple of lines for each. This is far removed from the traditional extended narrative; yet by combining traditional hymn form, images from myth (the Sun's chariot, the thread of the Moirai) and Homeric language with a Neoplatonic view of the god, he manages to retain something of the graphic vividness of the older hymns.

Lines 18 to 26 comprise, effectively, the "mythical" section of the hymnic narrative. Here Proclus describes Helios' *seira*—the descending chain of beings who partake in ever-diminishing proportions of the god's nature, or essence, or power—in the form of a genealogy of his divine offspring—a philosopher's answer to the birth myth of the traditional hymn. He describes the power of the *seira* as a vigorous generative force, barely held in check. Phoebus "leaps out" from it (18–19), Paian "grows" from Helios' evil-averting θιασεία (21–22). Next, with one line each, come Dionysus, Attis and Adonis. These subordinate members of the *seira* appear to be listed according to their position in the metaphysical hierarchy, which is determined largely by ancient tradition. Phoebus/ Apollo, dignified by the title βασιλεύς, is first, while Attis and Adonis come last, "in the very depths of the world of matter," ὕλης ἐνὶ βένθεσιν (25).

The language of this section is again high-flown, with many echoes of epic—for example οἴμης, θέσκελα μέλπων, μέγα κῦμα. The descriptions of Apollo and Paian sustain the theme of the preceding passage: Helios' power over the Fates (17) is matched by Apollo's over the sea of coming-to-be (20) and by Paian's over the illnesses that afflict the cosmos (23). However, there is a marked change in language and mood between the passages concerning the Fates and these lines. There, divine power was depicted as the overwhelming of one intractable might by another, a conflict epitomised in the oxymoron εἴκαθεν ἀστυφέλικτος (15). In the second part of the narrative, Apollo's music and Paian's own ἁρμονία use persuasion rather than force (θεοπείθεος οἴμης, 18). Apollo "puts to sleep" (εὐνάζει, 20) the turbulent wave of the sea of coming-to-be, Paian fills the cosmos with a harmony free from pain (παναπήμονος, 23, cf. μειλιχόδωρος, ἀλεξικάκου, 19). The musical theme introduced in the description of Apollo pervades this entire passage: κιθάρῃ δ ὑπὸ θέσκελα μέλπων (19), ὑμνείουσι (24), ἀοιδαῖς (26).

Proclus now turns from the protectors of mortals to their enemies (27 ff.). Ensnarement by demons or Poinai is one of the threats to the wicked soul from which he often prays to be delivered in the hymns.[26] These demons

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26 Cf. 1.37–38, 4.8–9, 12, 7.40 f.

are Middle Platonist in origin, conceptual descendents of Plato's semi-divine spirits—some good, some evil—who act as intermediaries between gods and men. It is the object of evil demons to frustrate the soul's efforts to return to the One.[27] Synesius describes the Poinai, like fullers cleaning dirty cloaks, using prickly teasels to scour the grime from wicked souls.[28] Here, then, Proclus describes the fate of the impious soul, ensnared by the spirits of punishment on earth, so that it cannot return to its father, the steward of light (lines 2 and 32).

> δειμαίνουσι δὲ σεῖο θοῆς μάστιγος ἀπειλὴν
> δαίμονες ἀνθρώπων δηλήμονες, ἀγριόθυμοι,
> ψυχαῖς ἡμετέραις δυεραῖς κακὰ πορσύνοντες,
> ὄφρ' αἰεὶ κατὰ λαῖτμα βαρυσμαράγου βιότοιο
> σώματος ὀτλεύωσιν ὑπὸ ζυγόδεσμα πεσοῦσαι,
> ὑψιτένους δὲ λάθοιντο πατρὸς πολυφεγγέος αὐλῆς.
>
> 27–32

> They fear your swift whip,
> The demons, baneful to men, wild-tempered,
> Who prepare evil for our miserable souls,
> So that forever in the deep swell of heavy-thundering life
> They suffer, falling under the yoke of the body,
> And forget the bright-shining court of their father raised on high.

Here is another abrupt change of mood, heralded by δειμαίνουσι (27), after the pacific themes of the preceding passage. Here near-repetitive alliteration—δειμαίνουσι, δαίμονες, δηλήμονες, δυεραῖς—creates a threatening tone and reinforces the grim images here of whip, stormy sea and bondage. Proclus' celebration of the god has built up, at the centre of the hymn and just before the prayer, to a reminder of the terrors of material existence, from which he will now pray to be saved.

The noisy clash of matter, the sea of coming-to-be, the demons that plague our existence; all these images and more that we have met in Hymn 1 to Helios recur throughout Proclus' hymns. It is time now to discuss their role in the construction of Proclus' narrative.

27 See, e.g., Plutarch: Introduction 2.3–4, *de facie* 944d. Further on daimones, Dillon 1977: 31–32, 171–174, 216–224, 287–288, 317–320; Wallis 1995: 11, 131, 152; Brenk 1987: 275 ff.

28 Synesius *Epistle* 44, quoted by Vogt on Hymn 1.37 = *Epistle* 43.43–47, Garzya 1989.

Imagery in the Hymns

In none of the hymns we have studied have we found continuous story-telling of more than a few verses at a time. This is true of all of Proclus' hymns. What we do get from them, as we have begun to see, is a depiction of the attributes and powers of the gods by means of recurring patterns of vivid images.

These images are not plucked out of the air by Proclus. Literary conventions for describing the moral life of man and his relationship to the gods and the cosmos were well established by his time. The varied images which jostle one another in the hymns had developed through a long tradition of philosophical and moralising prose, traceable back to Plato and beyond.[29]

One of the most important sources of imagery was the allegorical interpretation of mythological narrative, and in particular of Homer. The *Odyssey*, for example, was adopted by Pagans and Christians alike as an allegory of the journey of life;[30] in Odysseus' wanderings they found an abundance of images for the plight of the soul. Porphyry cites with approval the Numenian doctrine that Homer meant Odysseus to be a symbol for one who "passes through all the stages of coming-to-be."[31] The last voyage prophesied for him by Teiresias (*Odyssey* 11.122–123), to a land so far from the sea that its people will not recognise an oar for what it is, has a special significance for Platonists, among whom the sea is a popular image for the material world. The key figures in Porphyry's discussion—the wandering soul, the sea of the material universe and the persecution of the soul by the passions—are all established images, used recurrently in Proclus' hymns.

a *Images of God*

Two key images of god stand out in Neoplatonic theology: the great chain of being, or σειρά, and the source, or πηγή, from which other things flow. Images much used by philosophers tend with time to harden into philosophical terminology, and these two have thus virtually become technical terms for Proclus.[32] The term σειρά comes, as we saw, from an image taken from Homer.[33] Πηγή is often used in close association with σειρά and both appear frequently in the hymns, especially in the opening lines (πηγή 2.1, 2.2, 7.2, σειρά 1.18, 2.1,18, 7.2). Πηγή first acquires the status of a technical term in Plotinus, who makes

29 For much of what follows I am indebted to Trapp 1986: Ch. 6.

30 Buffière 1956: 365 ff.; Rahner [1957] 1963: Ch. 7.

31 Τοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐφεξῆς γενέσεως διερχομένου, Porphyry *de antro Nympharum* 34.

32 See Sheppard 1980: Ch. 4 esp. 147–150.

33 Above, n. 10.

frequent use of the term πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχή, in connection with the doctrine of emanation.[34] The emanation of god from the One is described as the outflow from a powerful spring: "For (the One), being perfect because it seeks nothing, has nothing, needs nothing, as it were overflows (ὑπερρύη) and its superabundance (τὸ ὑπερπλῆθες αὐτου) makes something other than itself."[35] We find the "outflow" image early in Hymn 1:

> … πηγῆς
> αὐτὸς ἔχων κληῖδα καὶ ὑλαίοις ἐνὶ κόσμοις
> ὑψόθεν ἁρμονίης ῥύμα πλούσιον ἐξοχετεύων
> *Hymn* 1.2–4

> who yourself
> Hold the key of the life-supporting source, and in the material worlds
> Channel off from above a rich stream of harmony

The image of goodness "flowing out" from god to man, and the parallel notion of intelligence streaming from god into the human mind, are established in theological writing as early as the first century AD. Within the Platonic tradition, the second century author Maximus of Tyre makes noticeable use of the image, again anticipating its future establishment as a central tenet of later Platonism. This image of god tends to be associated with that of the sun in some authors.[36] In Proclus too they are combined, the sun-god himself controlling and directing the life-giving stream from its source.

The Source image carries with it connotations of abundance and energy, which are brought out in various ways in the language of Hymn 1: ῥύμα πλούσιον (4), πλήσας εὐρέα κόσμον (23), ἐξέθορεν Φοῖβος (19, cf. 7.2). We are invited to imagine the outflow of good from the One through the agency of the gods as a vigorous, inexhaustible force.

b *Images of Man*

For the state of man and mortal existence Proclus draws on an abundant tradition of images. At the opposite extreme of the hierarchy of reality from the gods, man inhabits the abyss of life: note, for example, βένθος (Hymns 3.3 and

34 The expression comes from a passage in the Phaedrus, 245c9. See especially Ennead 3.8.10.2–7; also 1.6.6.15, 9.41; 1.7.1.15; etc.

35 Ennead 5.2.1.7–9.

36 Trapp 1986: 165–166.

1.25), χθονίων; κολπῶν (7.35), and contrast ὑψιτενοῦς ... πατρὸς ... αὐλῆς (1.32). The Father has instilled in human souls a crazed desire for life on earth and earthly gain, which is why they come here (see *Hymn* 3.6–9, above, and compare ἵμερον ... ἐπιχθονίου βιότοιο, 2.9; ψυχὴν ... περὶ χθονὶ μαργαίνουσαν, 6.6); but the soul that remembers its true home will try to struggle back out of its earthbound state to a higher plane.

What is it like for a soul to be earthbound, and what is different about the condition of the soul that manages to break free and start the return ascent? In the Hymns a series of antithetical pairs of images are used to distinguish the enlightened and unenlightened states of the soul, and to build up a picture of what it is to be a mortal being separated from its creator. All these pairs of images are common currency in the language of philosophical and moralising texts.

1. Ordered progress along a path, as opposed to helpless wandering (note especially Hymn 3.6–8, 10–13).
2. A calm sea and fair winds, as against a storm-tossed sea (Hymn 1.20, 3.6).
3. Light, and darkness or mist, and the related pair of sight and blindness (Hymn 1.40–41, also 3.1, 13, 15).
4. Mental alertness, wakefulness or memory, and oblivion (Hymn 1.32, Hymn 3.6—βαθυχεύμονα λήθην, combining with the sea image).
5. The state of the initiate and the uninitiated (Hymn 3.11, νοεροῖς με σοφῶν βακχεύσατε μύθοις).
6. Enslavement and rescue (demons in Hymn 1, Hymn 2.36–37).

Some of the imagery and the narratives underlying it are Platonic. That weakness or wrongdoing causes the soul to be held back from contemplation of the divine, whereas virtue is rewarded with a vision of divine light, goes back to, for example, the myth in the *Phaedrus*: for as long as the soul's chariot can keep up with a god, it will at least glimpse the truth in the upper regions, but if it falls, weighed down (βαρυνθεῖσα) by forgetfulness, idleness or incompetence, it will return to earth.[37] The catharsis referred to often in the Hymns is a process of mental and spiritual purification which frees the soul from these earthly burdens to concentrate on attaining that higher level.[38] The imagery of darkness and light is employed by Plato at greatest length in the myth of the Cave in the *Republic*.

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37 *Phdr.* 248c3 ff.

38 *Hymn* 1.35, 3.7, 4.4, 6.7.

However, some of the imagery used by Proclus is considerably older than Plato. The images of ignorance, blindness and wandering which become so firmly established in the Platonic tradition can already be found in Parmenides.[39] It is to Proclus that we owe the preservation in its entirety of Parmenides fr. 2, which describes the ὁδὸς διζήσιος.[40] He studied Parmenides both as a philosopher and as a literary stylist,[41] and his use of the words ἀτραπόν, ἀτραπιτοῦ in the sense of "road to enlightenment" (Hymn 2.13, 4.14) may be deliberate echoes of Parmenides ἀταρπόν in fragment 2. Parmenides would have provided the aspiring hymnodist with an obvious model: he is cited in Menander Rhetor's analysis of the different kinds of hymn as a forerunner in the composition of ὕμνοὶ φυσικοί.[42]

Images of the road of life and the voyage appear in Plato, for example in the Republic,[43] but a separate tradition is represented by Hesiod's two roads in the *Works and Days* and by the story of Heracles at the crossroads attributed to Prodicus by Xenophon, which is also eventually taken up by Maximus.[44]

Sea imagery pervades the hymns of Proclus, mostly in the form of sonorous Homeric or Homeric-sounding epithets: μέγα κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο γενέθλης (Hymn 1.20, cf. 1.4),[45] κατὰ λαῖτμα βαρυσμαράγου βιότοιο (1.30).[46] In allegorising tradition, Homer's sea represents the chaos and confusion of the material world. The possibilities of the sea metaphor are exploited extensively by Maximus, for example. A particularly relevant passage describes the soul swimming in the storm-tossed sea of the material world:

> καταπεσοῦσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν θόρυβον καὶ δοῦσα ἑαυτὴν ἐπ' ἀμηχάνου φορεῖσθαι κύματος, νήχεται δυσέκνευστον πέλαγος ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὴν φιλοσοφία ὑποδέξηται ὑποβαλοῦσα τοὺς ἑαυτῆς λογισμούς, ὥσπερ τὸ κρήδεμνον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἡ Λευκοθέα.[47]

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39 Parmenides fr. 6: ἣν δὴ βρότοὶ εἰδότες ουδὲν πλάττονται, δίκρανοι· ἀμαχανίη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶν στήθεσιν ἰθύνει πλακτὸν νόον. οἱ δὲ φοροῦνται κωφοὶ ὁμῶς τυφλοί τε, τεθήποτες, ἄκριτα φῦλα.

40 *In Tim.* 1.345.18.

41 Diels-Kranz I.220.17–18.

42 Menander 333.12 f., 336.25 ff.

43 E.g. road, *Rep.* 328e; voyage, 488a–489e.

44 Hesiod *Works and Days* 287–292; Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21 ff.; Trapp 1986: 207–209.

45 For πολυφλοίσβοιο see, e.g., *Il.* 2.209 ff.: ἠχῇ, ὡς ὅτε κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης αἰγιάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος. Cf. *Od.* 13.220.

46 For λαῖτμα see, e.g., Il. 19.267, *Od.* 4.504, *Homeric Hymn* 3.469.

47 Maximus Tyrius *Dialexeis* 11.246–250 Trapp 1986 (including translation).

> For when it falls into this tumult and surrenders itself to be carried along on an irresistible swell, the soul swims in a sea that is indeed hard to escape, until Philosophy takes it in charge, buoying it up with her teachings as Leucothea did Odysseus with her veil.

In Proclus, marine metaphors are repeatedly used to describe the world of coming-to-be and the plight of the soul there. We find several in Hymn 3: γενεθλήιον ἀκτήν (8), βαθυχεύμονα λήθην (6, cf. 4.8), βένθος βιότοιο (3). In Hymn 4, the soul is described as having "fallen into the waves of cold coming-to-be," κρυερῆς γενεθλῆς ἐνὶ κύμασι πεπτωκυῖα (4.10). In Hymn 7 to Athena, the sea-as-material-existence metaphor is combined with that of the voyage of life: Proclus prays "give me calm breezes as I sail through life," δὸς βιότῳ πλώοντι γαληνιόωντας ἀήτας (7.47).

These ideas are to a large extent interchangeable. For example, adjectives associated chiefly with sea imagery are used to characterise the material world in other contexts too. Just as the sea of coming-to-be is cold, κρυερή (4.10), so is the Poine who ties the soul down to its mortal existence (4.12), and so is the onslaught of impious desires on the soul (2.21). The noisy confusion of the storm-tossed sea, denoted by the adjectives πολυφλοίσβοιο and πολυσμαράγδου, is echoed in the phrase in *Hymn* 3, ὁμάδοιο πολυπλάγκτοιο γενέθλης (3.14). In Hymn 7 to Athena the competition between the goddess and Poseidon for Athens serves as an allegory for the victory of order and reason over the chaos of earthly passions (πόθον ἱρόν, 24), pictured as a great wave rising to engulf the city, πάντα πολυφλοίσβοισιν ἑοῖς ῥεέθροισιν ἱμάσσον (30).

The patterns of imagery we have been studying recur throughout the Hymns, but they are not confined to the central, traditionally narrative section. It is now time to consider that traditional hymnic element which plays such an enhanced part in Proclus' hymns that on first acquaintance it appears, at least in terms of numbers of lines, virtually to crowd out the narrative.

Prayer in the Hymns; Its Relation to the Central Narrative Section

In the *Homeric Hymns*, the longest part and main focus of the hymn was the central narrative. It was framed by a relatively short opening invocation and an even shorter concluding prayer, often just one line, often formulaic. In the hymns of Proclus, on the other hand, the prayers occupy a third to a half of the total number of lines, and can be as elaborate in style as the central narrative, and as rich in imagery. In content, moreover, they turn out to be very closely linked to the narrative.

Let us return to the central section of Hymn 3 (lines 3 to 9), where we find references to wandering (ψυχὰς … ἀλωομένας, 3, ἀπεπλάγθησαν, 8), a safe path (ὑπὲρ βαθυχεύμονα λήθην ἴχνος ἔχειν, 6–7), inspiring texts (ἐγερσινόων … βίβλων), and a force that leads upwards to the light (ἐδίδαξαν … μολεῖν ποτὶ σύννομον ἄστρον, 6–7, cf. ἀναγώγιον φῶς, 1). Now let us consider the prayer (lines 10 to the end). Here we find, again, images of wandering (πολυπτοίητον ἐρωήν, 10, ἀποπλάγξειεν, 12, πολυπλάγκτοιο, 14), of a path (ἀτραπιτοῦ, 13), of inspiring texts (νοεροῖς σοφῶν μύθοις, 11) and of a force that leads upwards to the light (ἕλκετε πρὸς φαὸς ἁγνόν, 15). Here is a remarkable continuity. The images of the soul's journey which we met in the central narrative section are taken up again in the prayer: Proclus, having first described the Muses' power to save souls in general, now prays for them to use these powers to save his own soul: *καὶ ἐμεῖο* πολυπτοίητον ἐρωὴν παύσατε (10–11), ἕλκετ' *ἐμὴν* ψυχὴν παναλήμονα πρὸς φαὸς ἁγνόν (15).[48]

In other hymns too we find the same continuity of theme between central narrative section and prayer, with Proclus appealing in the prayer to precisely those powers of the god which he has just been celebrating. In Hymn 1, for example, we saw that the central section ends with a description of how Helios frightens off the evil demons who torment human souls—δειμαίνουσι δὲ σεῖο θοῆς μάστιγος ἀπειλὴν δαίμονες ἀνθρώπων δηλήμονες (27 f.). This is followed up in the prayer by a plea for protection from Poinai, a kind of subset of demons:

> δέχνυσο δ' ἱκεσίην πολυδάκρυον, ἐκ δέ με λυγρῶν
> ῥυέο κηλίδων, Ποινῶν δ' ἀπάνευθε φυλάσσοις
> 36–37
>
> receive my tearful supplication, pull me out of baneful
> defilement and keep me far from the punishing deities.

Again, in Hymn 4, a description of the gods lighting the fire that leads mortal souls up to the immortals—οἳ ψυχὰς μερόπων ἀναγώγιον ἀψάμενοι πῦρ ἕλκετ' ἐς ἀθανάτους (2 f.)[49]—is picked up in the prayer by a series of pleas—for divine light (φάος ἁγνόν, 6), for rescue of the soul fallen into a life of endless wandering (ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἀλᾶσθαι, 10), for an initiation into rites that will help the suppliant striving for the upward-leading path (ἐπειγομένῳ πρὸς ὑψιφορητὸν ἄταρπον, 14).

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48 Cf. Van den Berg 2001 on *Hymn* 7: "In the first part of his petition, (32–36), Proclus asks Athena to do for him what she also does on a cosmic scale."

49 Note the similarity in wording to Hymn 3.1, 15.

The close correspondence between the description of the god and the wording of the prayer in these hymns reminds us that one of the levers traditionally used in Greek prayer by the suppliant to persuade a god to help him, besides the reminders *do ut des*, *da quod dedisti*,[50] and so on, is simply the prompt that the god has the power to help.[51]

In the *Homeric Hymns* and the hymns of Callimachus, the central narrative is the longest and most elaborate part of the hymns and the prayer is short and often formulaic, if present at all. For Proclus, on the other hand, it is clear that the main function of the hymn is as a vehicle for prayer, and the central section has an essential supporting role. In Neoplatonic thought, prayer plays a crucial part in bringing about the third stage in the process of Abiding, Procession and Reversion described above—the soul's descending journey from the gods to the realm most distant from them, the material world, and its return back up to the gods. All the major figures of Neoplatonism wrote on prayer, and Proclus himself devotes several pages to it in his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.[52] In all beings, including souls, the Demiourgos has implanted *symbola* or *synthemata* through which prayer attracts the favour of the gods to the soul. He describes five ascending stages in the process of prayer through which the soul must pass, experiencing an ever-increasing closeness to god.[53] The first is *gnosis*—the recognition by the soul of all the different levels of divinity so that it can pray to them as befits their individual natures—the last, *henosis*, union with the One. It is not always easy to relate what Proclus says in his prose works to his practice in the hymns,[54] but the detailed accounts of the nature of the gods which we find in all three sections of the hymns are surely meant to contribute towards the first of these five stages, that is *gnosis*. In the second stage—*oikeiosis*—the soul strives to become more like the gods. To do this, it must free itself from earthly ties, a process reflected in references throughout the hymns to the soul's attempts to flee the world of matter. These first two stages, according to Proclus' analysis, are achieved through individual pious effort, such as the composition and performance of hymns.[55] In the final stage of prayer, *henosis*, the tiny spark of "the one in the soul" is united with the great fire of the One itself. There are two references in the hymns to divine

50 The phenomenon was first named "Hypomnese" by Meyer 1933: 45.

51 Cf. *Il.* 16.514 f. (κλῦθι ... δυνάσαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσ' ἀκούειν); cf. 1.393.

52 *In Tim.* 1.206.26–214.12.

53 *In Tim.* 1.211.8–212.1.

54 On prayer as a theurgical process, see Van den Berg 2001: 86–91.

55 On hymns as a form of Reversion to the One, see Van den Berg 2001: 18 ff.

fire, in the Hymn to Helios (πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ, 1.1) and in Hymn 4 (ἀναγώγιον ἁψάμενοι πῦρ, 4.2); fire imagery was significant in accounts of the process of reversion.[56]

With regard to the subjects of prayer, Proclus identifies three classes: those for the salvation of the soul, for good health and for external goods. In the hymns he prays for all these but chiefly—as we began to see above—for the first, salvation of the soul. Prayers for salvation include pleas for help in escaping the bonds of mortal existence and rising to the level of the gods—that is, for guidance to end the soul's earthly wandering; for protection from hostile influences such as desire and moral corruption, from pain, and from demons, the earthly forces of vengeance; for the divine light of truth and release from the fog of ignorance; and for purification from wrongdoing. All these themes are anticipated in the introductory and central parts of the hymns.

Conclusion

We have seen how closely Proclus adheres to the structure and language of the old hexameter hymn form. Even in the central sections of his hymns, which appear so different from the extended narratives of the *Homeric Hymns* or Callimachus, he is still drawing on hymn tradition, using familiar mythical material and even once reinterpreting the epiphany scene which is so specific to the earlier narrative hymns. What he does not give us is a continuous narrative on a single theme (although we do find a parallel for the distinction between present and past tense narrative identified by Janko in the *Homeric Hymns*).

We have also noticed how the same themes and images recur throughout the hymns, regardless of what myth is being told or which god is being invoked. These patterns of imagery form a complex picture of, on the one hand, the condition of the human soul, blind, wandering, storm-tossed, tormented, imprisoned in the world of plurality through its wicked craving for earthly pleasures; on the other, the promise of a better existence: light in the darkness, freedom from torment, a calm sea, a path out of the abyss and back up to the One from which the soul came. These images weave themselves through every part of the

56 See Van den Berg 2001: 152 and 230: "The Chaldaean Oracles apply the term 'fire' to the noeric substance of the human intellect that subsists in the soul and makes it possible for us to ascend and enter into contact with the gods." Compare P. on the 3rd stage, *synaphe*, καθ' ἣν ἐφαπτόμεθα τῆς θείας οὐσίας τῷ ἀκροτάτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς … καὶ συννεύομεν πρὸς αὐτήν. τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φάος ἕξει; *in Tim.* I.211.18–22.

hymns, from the epithets and descriptive phrases of the statement of theme, through the celebration in the central section of the god's attributes and powers, to the extended prayer for protection, guidance and salvation. They are the most colourful feature of Proclus' hymns. Mythical narrative is no longer confined to the central section or to the elaboration of a single theme. Instead, we have glancing allusions in every section of the hymn to a variety of myths, from the tradition represented in the epics and the *Homeric Hymns*, but also from the philosophers—Parmenides, Prodicus, Plato. These brief mythological allusions themselves sustain the same complex of imagery—it is from myth, after all, that many of the images derive.

From this complex pattern of images, which we meet repeatedly throughout the hymns and in all parts of them, there emerges a single, implied, normative narrative or "master plot" which underlies and informs all narratives about individual gods. The story is that of the soul's imprisonment in the world of plurality and its longed-for release and return to its origins. Through their constant rehearsal of this narrative, the hymns help the suffering soul to understand its plight and the true nature of divinity, and so to achieve *gnosis*, that knowledge of the god's nature which, as the first of the five ascending stages of prayer, will draw the soul back up to those divine origins.[57] In this scheme, the prayer section of the hymn, expressing the soul's plea for salvation, acquires a newly vital role.

Throughout the tradition, hymnic conventions have continuously been reworked in the service of different religious or literary aims. Yet in transforming the archaic narrative hymn into a vehicle for a theology so complex, abstract and distant from its origins, Proclus achieved something remarkable and unique.

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57 At the same time, the celebration by the enlightened soul of the god's powers is intended to attract his or her favour downwards to the mortal suppliant. The poets of the *Homeric Hymns*, similarly, expressed in their concluding prayers the hope that a flattering account of the gods' mythical deeds would attract their attention and favour: πρόφρονες ἀντ' ᾠδῆς βίοτον θυμηρέ' ὀπάζειν—*Homeric Hymn* 2.494, cf. 34.18. See Van den Berg 2001: 96–97, quoting Furley 1995: 43. On the concluding prayers of the *Homeric Hymns* see Devlin 1994: 36–37.

PART 4

Orphic Hymns and "Magical Hymns"

CHAPTER 10

The Narrative Techniques of the *Orphic Hymns**

A-F. Morand

Both the *Orphic Hymns* and the *Orphic Argonautica* share the fortune of being complete texts, rather than fragments, and of having been traditionally considered as "sorry rehash[es]."[1] The recent interest in both writings related to the important Orphic discoveries of the last fifty years is in harmony with the manuscript tradition which sees these two often copied alongside other hymns such as the *Homeric Hymns*, the hymns of Callimachus and those by Proclus. The *Orphic Hymns*, handed down under the name of Orpheus, are coherent in composition, in all likelihood come from Asia Minor, and should probably be assigned to the second or third century AD.

Proceeding from the general to the particular, the opening section of my paper will deal with narrative techniques in the *Orphic Hymns*. Within this, the first part will be dedicated to the ways in which the different *Orphic Hymns* relate to one another. It will be followed by a study of an individual hymn, that to Protogonos. This will lead to an examination of the structure of the hymns, their word order and to threads of continuity in the parataxis. The second section will be dedicated to a comparison between the beliefs found in the hymns and other Orphic texts. Texts other than the *Orphic Hymns* will be referred to in the first section but only in order to understand allusions; the second section will focus on the parallelism between the hymns and other texts in order to grasp fully the way allusions operated in a larger framework of texts and beliefs.

The Collection of Hymns and Narrative Techniques

Before investigating the narrative techniques, it will be necessary to define the corpus of texts for the enquiry, discussing in particular the relation between the proem and the rest of the collection, since single authorship has been

* I would like to thank Kale Coghlan, Andrew Faulkner, Owen Hodkinson and an anonymous reader for their remarks on my paper.

1 Lesky 1966: 812. "Sorry rehash" refers to the *Orphic Argonautica*, but also summarizes what is said by Lesky on the *Orphic hymns*.

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questioned from an early date.[2] This will determine whether our focus is on the proem and the individual hymns or only on the latter. The two are clearly separated in the manuscripts.[3] In the palaeographical tradition, the inclusion, at the end of the proem, of what has become the first hymn, addressed to Hecate, reveals that the separation is artificial.[4] Despite this, the gods listed in the proem and in the individual hymns differ: for instance Dionysus is mentioned in passing, as the father of Semele in pr. 34, whereas Demons occupy three lines (pr. 31–33). As Martin West points out, the word opening and closing the poem, θυηπολίη, "a ritual usually linked with sacrifice," is not found in the rest of the corpus.[5] Despite these discrepancies, some similarities are striking. In the proem, the use of epithets, in the few instances where they appear, is similar to the characterisation of the gods in the individual hymns. For instance καὶ σύ, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα, "And you, Poseidon, who bears the earth, dark-haired" (pr. 5) resonates with κλῦθι, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα, "listen, Poseidon, who bears the earth, dark-haired" (17.1).[6]

In addition, the ritual (θυηπολίη) performed in close connection with the prayer (εὐχή) mirrors what is found in the hymns where the appropriate fumigation is named in the titles. In sum, the vocabulary used and the order in which the gods appear are strong arguments for coherent composition. The end goal of both sections is different. The proem includes all the gods who are summoned to the mysteries, as the all-encompassing Ἀρχήν τ' ἠδὲ Πέρας, "Beginning and End" (pr. 42), makes clear, whereas the separate hymns are aimed at one god or a clear group such as the Nereids (24). Yet despite this difference in aim, the theme of "Beginning and End" is close to that of Life and Death found at both ends of the individual hymns.

The same conclusion about continuity between the poems can be drawn from the final demand inviting various deities to:

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2 Maass 1895: 184; Kern 1940: 20–26; Petersen 1868: 389; West 1968: 288–289. On the proem, cf. in this volume Herrero, pp. 224–226.

3 Cf. for instance, Laurentianus XXXII 45, ff. 131^{r}–132^{r}.

4 The first to notice this was Wilhelm Canter, which explains the discrepancy between the numbers ascribed to each hymn in the manuscripts and in the editions. Cf. Ricciardelli 2000: XLII–XLV with a different opinion on the place of the first hymn and West 1968: 288–289 separating the proem and the individual hymns.

5 West 1968: 288.

6 Unless stated otherwise, for the *Orphic Hymns*, I will be using the edition by Gabriella Ricciardelli 1995. The translations of the *Orphic Hymns* are my own.

εὐμενέας ἐλθεῖν κεχαρημένον ἦτορ ἔχοντας
τήνδε θυηπολίην ἱερὴν σπονδήν τ' ἐπὶ σεμνήν.

come well disposed, with a rejoicing heart,
to this sacred ritual and to this holy libation.
pr. 43–44

The resonance of the words θυηπολίην περὶ σέμνην, "holy ritual,"[7] with a reference to the opening of the poems conveys the image of a circle and could be interpreted as a new start rather than an end, if we think in terms of a spiral rather than a closed circle. Moreover, the final words mirror some of the demands found in individual hymns, such as ἐλθεῖν εὐμενέοντα, "to come well disposed" (75.4), addressed to Palaimon, and ἔλθοις εὐμενέων μύσταις κεχαρημένος αἰεί, "may you come always rejoicing and well disposed to the mysts" (83.8, to Oceanos). Hence, despite some surprising elements found in the first part of the proem, strong arguments can be made for continuity between it and the rest of the hymns.[8]

The collection of hymns is placed under the name Orpheus, a figure already appearing in the title of the collection: *Ὀρφεὺς πρὸς Μουσαῖον. Εὐτυχῶς χρῶ, ἑταῖρε.* "Orpheus to Musaeus, use it favourably, friend."[9] Orpheus, the "I" of the *Hymns*, addresses Musaeus. It occurs in a context of teaching, μάνθανε δή, Μουσαῖε, "learn Musaeus" (pr. 1). The name also provides the identity of the poet and gives the text a temporal perspective: Orpheus is pre-Homeric since he took part in the expedition of the Argonauts, a generation before the Homeric heroes.[10] The use of such figures has several implications. The first is related to the status of Homer and to the implicit pre-eminence accorded to the earliest heroes. Secondly, the address to Musaeus obviously also refers to the Muses.[11] This establishes a pattern of succession amongst the poets; Musaeus

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7 The word θυηπολίη is more specific than ritual; it is linked with an offering such as a sacrifice, but it also includes the whole festival and the hymns themselves.

8 Ricciardelli 1995: 63–68; Rudhardt 2008: 174 express doubts about the common authorship.

9 The phrase εὐτυχῶς χρῶ, ἑταῖρε "use it favourably, friend" is not found in all the manuscripts, but the dedication of Orpheus to Museaus is present in the good ones. Cf. West 1968: 288–289; Ricciardelli 1995: 63–68. On the titles in the manuscript tradition, Morand 2001: 103–110.

10 On pseudoepigraphy in relation with Orphic writings, Morand 2001: 92–94.

11 The *Orphic Argonautica*, in a strikingly similar way, also plays on this double level: they are both inspired by the Muse, but are addressed to Musaeus, (*Argonautica* 7 and 308, Vian 1987: 74 and 96). On the address to Musaeus, cf. in this volume Herrero, pp. 232–233.

becomes the successor of Orpheus. It also evokes the common practice of addressing works during the Imperial period to a friend or patron, as Galen does for instance at the beginning of *On the order of my own books* where the famous physician says that he is composing this book because "mighty" Bassus suggested he do so.[12]

There are further references related to Orpheus in this arcane text. The hymn to the Nereids ends with: *Καλλιόπῃ σὺν μητρὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι*, "with mother Calliope and lord Apollo" (24.12). Although it is unclear whether Orpheus' mother is summoned in this specific hymn because of the Nereids or because of the reference to the initiations to Bacchos and pure P(h)ersephone (24.11), in this context there is no convincing explanation for Apollo's presence other than the fact that he is the father of Orpheus.[13]

In hymn 76, Calliope is named in an altogether clearer passage, the hymn to the Muses:

> Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε
> Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε
> Καλλιόπῃ σὺν μητρὶ καὶ εὐδυνάτῃ θεᾷ ἁγνῇ
>
> Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene,
> Terpsichore, Erato, Polyhymnia, Urania,
> With mother Calliope, powerful and pure goddess
> 76.8–10

The reference to Calliope revives the presence of the author, the inspiration of the Muses, and of the poem itself, as the word *πολύυμνον* "of many hymns" (76.12), suggests a few lines later (obviously in echo of Polyhymnia, 76.9).[14] In terms of narration there is a shift, or confusion, between the "I" referring to Orpheus the author and the *orans*, the person addressing the request who bids

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12 Boudon-Millot 2007: 134. Bassus is probably a friend (*ἑταῖρος*) of Galen, cf. n. 1, 175. The habit of dedicating one's work to a friend or patron is found at earlier dates but becomes more prevalent in Roman times.

13 Maass 1895: 184–185. In Ps. Apollodorus, *Library* 1.3.2, Apollo is mentioned as the father of Orpheus.

14 Cf. Maass 1895: 184–185; Ricciardelli 1995: n. 12, 330, n. 10, 511. The name Orpheus also appears at the end of hymn 59: Μοιράων τέλος ἔλλαβ' ἀοιδή, ἣν ὕφαν' Ὀρφεύς, "here ends the song of the Moirai woven by Orpheus" (59.21). Johann Matthias Gesner is probably right to assume that the person who added this had an incomplete manuscript (1764: 258). Some of the surviving manuscripts contain only selections of hymns.

the deity to come to the varied festival "for those who reveal the mysteries." A similar shift happens at the end of the hymn, where the praying "I" presents a request in the name of the community at large or for more restricted groups. The *orans* thus defines his position vis-à-vis both the group and the god the hymn is addressed to. At this stage, Orpheus becomes a figure of inspiration rather than the person actually speaking, just as the Muses in the Homeric texts. The confusing identity of the "I" sets all the elements in place for the *orans* to feel that he is re-enacting the song once performed by Orpheus. The parallel between Orpheus and the later performers is even stronger than in the case of the *Homeric Hymns* in the absence of a direct reference to any inspiration by the Muse. This also provides a further explanation for the difference between the proem and the rest of the poems.

The proem is followed by eighty-seven short hymns in hexameters. The collection is laid out according to various thematic threads. The second hymn is dedicated to Prothyraia, a deity closely connected with birth, and the collection closes with the final word, γῆρας, "old age" of the hymn to Thanatos (87.12). The progression from birth to death is clear, yet the first hymn is dedicated to Hecate. In the manuscripts preserving the whole corpus, the hymn to Hecate is found directly following the proem and attached to it. This gives the appearance that the individual hymns open with Prothyraia. Although there is no doubt that the hymn to Hecate needs to be separated and taken as the first hymn, the confusion by the scribes in itself is an indication that the coherence between birth and death was evident. The reason for the presence of Hecate at the opening of the individual hymns may be related to the particular location of this goddess in between different worlds; it could also be related to rituals.[15]

The gods appear in a certain order: the primal entities, such as Night (hymn 3), Ouranos (hymn 4) and Ether (hymn 5) appear first. These gods, including Protogonos (hymn 6), play an important role at the beginning of the Orphic cosmogony. Hymns 7 to 9 are addressed to various elements of the sky, the Stars, the Sun and the Moon. Then come hymns to Nature (hymn 10), to an all-encompassing Pan (hymn 11), and to Heracles (hymn 12), a deity related to the cosmos in his allness,[16] but also to the sky since his labours are interpreted as twelve trials leading from East to West, from Dawn to Night. Immediately after, Cronos (hymn 13), Rhea (hymn 14), Zeus (hymns 15, 19 and 20), Hera

15 Graf 2009: 169–182.

16 Hymn 12.6 is very characteristic: παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἀρωγέ, "All-eating and all-generating, highest of all and helper of all."

(hymn 16), Poseidon (hymn 17), and Pluto (hymn 18) follow the logic of cosmogonies in a way comparable to Hesiod's *Theogony*.[17] As can be expected, Dionysus and his *cortège* are prominent. Fritz Graf's suggestion to follow a more ritual and at times architectural approach to interpretation is excellent.[18] Furthermore, attention to night and day and their function in mystery cults and the allusions to nocturnal rituals also add to our understanding of the text.[19]

The hymns close to one another often share a connection; allness is a feature of the hymns dedicated to Pan (hymn 11) and to Heracles (hymn 12). Further examples of this kind are countless. For instance, in the hymn to Dionysus Bassareus Trieterikos the first epithet πυρίσπορε, "born from fire" (hymn 45.1), is used to mark this Dionysus as the son of Semele, the goddess addressed in the previous hymn (hymn 44). In the same way, Protogonos-Phanes is announced in the hymn to Ether, qualified as ὑψιφανής, "glowing in heights" (5.4).

As I consider further the ways in which the hymns relate to one another and operate as a whole, a closer look at one text, the sixth hymn to Protogonos, will be helpful:

6. Πρωτογόνου θυμίαμα σμύρναν

Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον,
ᾠογενῆ, χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πτερύγεσσι,
ταυροβόαν, γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἠρικεπαῖον,
ἄρρητον, κρύφιον ῥοιζήτορα, παμφαὲς ἔρνος,
ὄσσων ὃς σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὁμίχλην
πάντη δινηθεὶς πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον
λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἁγνόν, ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κικλήσκω
ἠδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἑλίκωπον.
ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πολύμητι, πολύσπορε, βαῖνε γεγηθὼς
ἐς τελετὴν ἁγίαν πολυποίκιλον ὀργιοφάνταις.

17 On the logic of the order in which the hymns appear, cf. Petersen 1868: 389–390; Dieterich 1891: 78–86; Ziegler 1942: 1321–1323; Ricciardelli 2000: xl–xlii.

18 Graf 2009: 169–173. The ritual logic of the hymns has the consequence that a structuralist approach to the offerings or to the succession of gods is quite unhelpful, Martin 2007: 80–82; Morand 2001: 151–152.

19 Graf 2009: 179.

6. Fumigation of Protogonos: Myrrh

I call upon Protogonos, first born and of a double nature, great,
roaming in Ether,
Born from an egg, exulting in his golden wings,
Bellowing like a bull, origin of the blest and of mortal men,
Seed full of memory, honoured in many secret rites, Ericepaios
The unspeakable, hidden and whizzing, all-shinny shoot,
You who removed the dark mist from the eyes,
And swirl everywhere in the kosmos with the beating of your wings,
Bringing bright and pure light: wherefore I call thee Phanes,[20]
Lord Priapus and quick glancing Antauges,
But, blessed, full of wile and full of seed, come rejoiced
To this pure festival, full of variety, for those who reveal the mysteries.[21]

The request is made for the ὀργιοφάνται, "those who reveal the mysteries" to come rejoicing. This is parallel to other hymns, where a demand is presented for a group of members of the religious hierarchy: for the initiates (μύστης), for the people at large (λαοί), the new initiates (νεομύστης, μύστης νεοφάντης, νέος ἱκέτης), the *boukolos* (βουκόλος) or the performer of initiations (μυστιπόλος).[22]

As in this hymn to Protogonos, the *Orphic hymns* can be divided into an invocation, a main body or amplification, and a request to the god. In the great majority of cases, the invocation takes the form of a verb followed by the name of the god, or sometimes an *epiclesis* appearing in the vocative. Without any transition the invocation is followed by the body of the text, or amplification, composed of a long string of epithets and sometimes a short participial or a relative clause. The hymns end with a request addressed to the god named in the title.

The invocations are fairly formulaic in the sense that they are limited to only a few terms of request, such as I call, I invoke, κικλήσκω, κλῄζω or καλέω—as is found in the hymn to Protogonos (6.1). Other hymns ask the deity to listen or to come, with verbs such as κλῦθι or ἐλθέ/ἔλθοις, in the imperative or the optative. A few open with only the name of the addressee of the hymn at the beginning of the verse.[23] The amplification derives from the invocation in such a way that it

20 Translation: "wherefore I call thee Phanes." West 1983: 203–204.
21 Hunsucker 1974: 85–160; West 1983: 85–86, 202–212; Ricciardelli 2000: 251–256.
22 Quandt 1912; Morand 2001: 232–287; Jaccottet 2003.
23 Morand, 2001: 42–48, 309–312; Rudhardt 2008: 183–194.

is often unclear where one ends and where the other begins. In many cases, I do not believe that we can reach a decision regarding the end of the invocation.[24]

Since the final request often uses the same vocabulary as the invocation, this part will be discussed before the main body of the text. In the concluding section, the *Orphic Hymns* call upon the deity and ask for his or her presence or attention. This section differs from the invocation in the sense that it presents a full request such as a favourable presence at a ritual, prosperity, peace or health. Characteristically, it begins with the formula, ἀλλά, μάκαρ / μάκαιρα … "but blessed …," which is followed by the actual demand. These words are found at the beginning of the line and are specific to final requests. In contrast with the amplification that flows out of the invocation, the final demand is clearly separated from the rest of the hymn, with the particle ἀλλά, "but" or with a verb in the imperative calling the deity. In all cases, attention is drawn through the change in tone to the content of the demand. The fact that the temporal particle νῦν "now"—νῦν δὲ μάκαιρ' …, "now, blessed …" (3.12), ὑμᾶς νῦν λίτομαι …, "I beg you now …" (21.6), νῦν σέ, θεά, λίτομαι …, "goddess, I beg you now" (44.10), νῦν σε καλῶ … "I call you now …" (50.10)—is found only in this part of the hymn shows that we are in a different temporal space; we are moving out of the mythical time of the hymn's narrative to a more present and earthly time, the "present" shared by the hymn's narrator and its external audience.[25] On the other hand, the expressions τοιγάρ τοι, μάκαρ, "therefore, blessed" (73.7), τοιγάρ τοι, λιτόμεσθα, μάκαρ, "therefore, we beg you, blessed" (82.6) at the same time clearly define the beginning of the request and announce the conclusion.

In terms of content, it has been observed that in the requests little attention is paid to the afterlife. As Walter Burkert has shown, mysteries offer promises for this life as well as for the next one.[26] According to both Paul Veyne and Francis Vian, "the only anxieties of these hymns are related to this world, to the crudest reality."[27] I would not go quite so far. There is an interest in the Underworld, for the gods, as well as for life on earth. True enough, the requests do not show great interest in the afterlife, but the abundant use of words incorporating the euphemistic adverb εὖ proves a general apprehension related to divine manifestations. The gods are able to manifest themselves in human life and with gruesome effect. Fritz Graf reveals a dark side of the *Orphic Hymns*, in an illuminating study of the meaning of the epithet εὐάντητος, "good

24 *Contra* cf. Rudhardt 2008: 186–194.

25 According to Rudhardt, νῦν is not temporal. Rudhardt 2008: 212.

26 Burkert 1987: 21.

27 The sentence (my translation) was written by Paul Veyne 1995: 12–13; cf. also Vian 2004, 137.

to meet, gracious."[28] Despite a superficial appearance of light revel, the use of euphemistic words, prayers and the rituals betray fears, serious rites and mysteries.

The amplification varies from the invocation and the request both in content and in form in the sense that it is less formulaic. In this part, instead of finding a myth related to the deity as we do in the *Homeric Hymns*, the modern reader is surprised to encounter mostly epithets in paratactic order, as we observe in hymn 6 to Protogonos. It is in fact unusual to find a participial or a relative clause extending further than the limits of one verse, as is found in hymn 6:

> ὄσσων ὃς σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὀμίχλην
> πάντη δινηθεὶς πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον
> λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἁγνόν, ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κικλήσκω
>
> You who removed the dark mist from the eyes,
> And swirl everywhere in the kosmos with the beating of your wings,
> Bringing bright and pure light: wherefore I call thee Phanes,
> 6.6–8

A verse such as σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἠρικεπαῖον / ἄρρητον, "seed full of memory, honoured in many secret rites, Ericepaios, the unspeakable" (6.4–5) would be more characteristic of the collection. Despite the impression of an enumeration of isolated items, a word order is present and a kind of syntax underlies the parataxis, as Jean Rudhardt has convincingly shown: "la parataxe des épithètes et des appositions peut dissimuler une sorte de syntaxe. Les mots juxtaposés peuvent entretenir les uns avec les autres des rapports subtils que n'indique clairement aucun signe grammatical, comme font entre eux les éléments d'un mot composé."[29] Because of the allusive nature of the text, it is often difficult to know how to connect the words. Some objective elements can be set. In the *Hymns*, as is often the case with hexameters, the line usually defines a semantic unit[30] and the caesuras mark smaller units within the verse, e.g. σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, "seed full of memory" (6.4). The exception is the bucolic caesura that has the effect of linking the last word of a verse more closely to the one beginning the next line, as is the case with Ἠρικεπαῖον / ἄρρητον, "Ericepaios, the unspeakable" (6.4–5) or αἰθερόπλαγκτον

28 Graf 2009: 173–178.
29 Rudhardt 2008: 248.
30 Rudhardt 2008: 174.

/ ᾠογενῆ, "roaming in Ether / born from an egg" (6.1–2). In this last example, we are fortunate to have parallels for the myth. The sequence "roaming in Ether, born from an egg, exulting in his golden wings" (6.1–2) follows what can be reconstructed from the fragments:[31] Ether coming first, followed by the apparition of the egg, described in parallel texts as a wind egg (ὑπηνέμιον)[32] or a silvery egg,[33] and finally the winged monster. Thus the lines and the versification provide help in defining affinities between words.

Numerous effects based on sound, such as anaphora, alliteration, assonance or even the repetition of the same word also create threads within the hymns.[34] Saying one of the divine names (such as Ericepaios) is pleasing to the deity, for the gods take pleasure in their names. This creates an element of variety since the relationship with the god is more intense because of the direct interpellation, and at times provides greater access to the true nature of the deity and of his/her name.[35] An example is λαμπρὸν ἄγων **φάος** ἁγνόν, **ἀφ'** οὗ σε **Φάνητα** κικλήσκω, "Bringing bright and pure light: wherefore I call thee Phanes" (6.8). The bright light shining, indicated by words derived from φαίνομαι (φαν-, phan-), is already found in the παμ**φα**ὲς ἔρνος "all-shiny shoot" of verse 5. Phanes also shines in the word ὀργιο**φάν**ταις, "for those who reveal the mysteries" (6.12) at the end of the hymn. Indeed, Phanes is the god who brings light into the world or separates darkness and light. The amplification often reaches a climax just before the final demand.[36] **Φ**ερσε**φ**όνη· **φ**έρβεις γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ πάντα **φ**ονεύεις, "Phersephone, you always nourish and kill everything" (29.16) provides an excellent parallel to our ἄγων **φάος** ἁγνόν, **ἀφ'** οὗ σε **Φάνητα**, "Bringing bright and pure light: wherefore I call thee Phanes" (6.8). The revelation of the meaning of the name, based on its sound, brings this first part to a conclusion. The end of the body of the text is often marked by words synthesizing the god's qualities, or sometimes alternate names, clearly thought to sum up some of the divine elements. The name Antauges found in line 16, just before the request, conveys once again the idea of light.

The performers, the hearers or the readers of the *Orphic Hymns* are invited to follow such threads through the collection and the individual poems. Clues of the paths to be followed can be found in the general order of the collection, in repetition of words, assimilations and word play.

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31 *OF* 122 Bernabé. References to Orphic fragments are given in Bernabé 2004–2007: pars 2.

32 Aristophanes, *Aves* 695. The meaning of ὑπηνέμιος is unfertilized, in de Lacy 1992.

33 *OF* 114 Bernabé.

34 Hopman-Govers 2001: 35–49; Morand 2005: 223–233.

35 Morand 2010a: 157–176.

36 Rudhardt 2008: 206–207.

Narrative Techniques and Beliefs

My second section is dedicated to an account of the beliefs found in the *Hymns* through the example of Protogonos Phanes.[37] Because of the allusive character of the collection, it is essential to have a clear notion of what an ancient hearer or reader had in mind in terms of religious background. We have observed so far that these abstruse texts have a sort of "syntax," but in order to understand them fully it is necessary to look at the evidence derived from other texts. Further difficulties arise from the fragmentary character of Orphic sources and from some inconsistencies in the beliefs arising both from the fact that this was not a centralised movement and that some of the notions changed over time. As in the first section, the basis of my reflection will derive from the hymn to Protogonos and aim at discussing the extent to which the content of the *Orphic Hymns* is in conformity with the content of other writings attributed to Orpheus.[38]

So far, we have observed that there is continuity between the hymn to Ether, where an allusion to Phanes is found, and hymn 6 to Protogonos. We have also seen that in the hymn to Protogonos the epithets related to the birth in Ether—from (?) Ether—of a winged figure coming out of an egg follow the chronological succession found in the Orphic fragments. Phanes brings light to the world as is ontologically rooted in his name, as it is also in Antauges. Further elements are in conformity with other Orphic texts. Protogonos has the characteristics and attributes of both sexes; he is διφυῆ, "of a double nature" (6.1).[39] The monstrous, or more accurately composite, appearance of Phanes is also evoked through synesthesia in ταυροβόαν, "bellowing like a bull" (6.3). He / she is also winged, as has already been discussed.

Like other gods, this deity bears many names. Protogonos, in a transparent etymology, denotes earliness in the cosmogony as well as the importance of this figure as a divine seed for the origin of gods and men. The use of the Orphic name Ἠρικεπαῖον / ἄρρητον, "unspeakable Ericepaios"[40] (6.4–5) announces that Protogonos is, or will be, Dionysus Trieterikos:

37 For further accounts on the beliefs, cf. Rudhardt 1991: 263–289; Morand 2001: 153–199; Rudhardt 2008: 251–325.

38 In particular, OF Bernabé 80–81, 96–99, 121–167.

39 Other authors provide fuller descriptions of the anatomy of Protogonos-Phanes, OF 135 Bernabé, cf. West 1983: n. 85, 202–203.

40 The manuscripts have εὕρηκε παιὰν Ψ or εὕρετο παιὰν l. Canter's correction to the rare Ericepaios is fully justified.

ὄργιον ἄρρητον, τριφυές, κρύφιον Διὸς ἔρνος,
Πρωτόγον', Ἠρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱέ,

Unspeakable mystery, thrice born, hidden shoot of Zeus,
Protogonos, first born, Ericepaios, father and son of the gods,
52.5–6 to Trieterikos

Dionysus Trieterikos is fundamental in the rituals and the mysteries found in our text. The three births of Dionysus, the unspeakable aspects and the presence of Dionysus in the Underworld are linked with these rituals.[41]

A wordplay based on numbers may also provide a clue regarding the nature of the assimilation of gods: Πρωτόγονον, διφυῆ, τρίγονον, "Protogonos, first-born, of a double nature, thrice-born" (30.2) is found embryonically in Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ, "I call upon Protogonos, first born of a double nature" (6.1). Thus in hymn 6 the three births of Dionysus are not yet mentioned which implies that assimilations are not indiscriminate mergers, since they appear at different times of the cosmogony.[42] We have just discussed Antauges in the context of light. The word is used again as an epithet of the stars in the next hymn (7.5). This word is one of many explained by Macrobius in reference to Dionysus-Phanes.[43] Interestingly enough, in the same passage, δινεῖται (δινηθεὶς in hymn 6.7) is mentioned as the meaning of the name Dionysus. The name Priapus is more of a puzzle.[44]

The relation between Protogonos and Dionysus, as well as the notion expressed in the hymn to Dionysus Trieterikos that he is both father and son of the gods (52.6), fit with a circular conception of the rulers. Robert Parker expresses it well: "the Orphic myth of succession in heaven takes new colour if Protogonos and Zeus and Dionysus are in some sense the same god, if Zeus was implicit in Protogonos and Protogonos reincarnated in Dionysus. 'In my beginning is my end, in my end is my beginning.'"[45] Since the hymn to Protogonos does

41 The "trieteric" period—every two years—is related to Dionysus' presence in the Underworld and to the mysteries related to Semele. Cf. hymns 44.7 and 54.3.

42 For further comments on the notion of assimilation in the *Orphic hymns*, Morand 2010b: 143–153. With a different angle on the topic, cf. Herrero de Jáuregui 2010, esp. 90–93 and in this volume pp. 239–242.

43 Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.22 ff. (cf. *OF* 540 F Bernabé).

44 Lang 1881: 27.50 suggests with some doubts (ἴσως) to connect it to πρόεισιν εἰς πάντα. G. Ricciardelli connects the name Priapus with πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς 6.7. Cf. Ricciardelli 2000: 255; Hunsucker 1974: 158–160.

45 Parker 1995: 494.

not make explicit reference to Zeus, we need to address the question of the presence of this part of the myth in the *Orphic Hymns*.

In the Derveni papyrus the ingestion of the world is described thus (column 16):

> [αἰδοῖ]ον τὸν ἥλιον ἔφ[η]σεν εἶναι δε[δήλω]ται. ὅτι δὲ
> ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τὰ νῦν ὄντα γίνεται λέγει·
> πρωτογόνου βασιλέως αἰδοίου, τῶι δ’ ἄρα πάντες
> ἀθάνατοι προσέφυμ μάκαρες θεοὶ ἠδὲ θέαιναι
> καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ κρῆναι ἐπήρατοι ἄλλα τε πάντα,
> ἅσσα τότ’ ἦγ γεγαῶτ’, αὐτὸς δ’ ἄρα μοῦνος ἔγεντο.
> [ἐ]ν τούτοις σημαίνει ὅτι τὰ ὄντα ὑπῆ[ρ]χεν ἀεί, τὰ δὲ
> ν[ῦ]ν ἐόντα ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων γίν[ετ]αι.
>
> It has been revealed that (Orpheus) stated that the sun is a genital organ. He says that the things which now are arise from existent things:
> “of the penis of the first-born king, and on him grew all the immortals, blessed gods and goddesses,
> the rivers, lovely springs and all the rest, all that had then been born; he himself alone became.”
> In these words he hints that the things which exist have always existed, and those which now are arise from existent things.[46]

On the other hand, the *Orphic Hymn* to Zeus alludes to the re-creation of the world

> ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα,
> γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ ὀρέων θ’ ὑψηχέες ὄχθοι
> καὶ πόντος καὶ πάνθ’, ὁπόσ’ οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔταξε·
>
> O king, through your head came to light the following divine beings:
> Mother Earth and the high-resounding summits of the mountains
> And the sea and all that the sky set in order within.[47]
>
> 15.3–5

46 Derveni papyrus, col. 16.1–8. Text: Betegh 2004: 34; Translation: Janko 2001: 25.

47 Cf. *OF* 241 Bernabé.

Since the hymn is focusing on the process of the creation of the world, we can leave aside the question of the phallophagy in the Derveni papyrus.[48] The creation happening through Zeus' head is probably a reduplication of the birth of Athena.[49] The words διά σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη must allude to the names of Zeus and Phanes. Thus despite the apparent absence of Zeus in the hymn to Protogonos, the myth related to Orphic divine rulers is in the background, as we can observe when taking into account all the different testimonies.

Conclusions

In terms of the text as a whole, this investigation has explored aspects of authorship in relation to the users of the collection as well as the order of appearance of the various hymns. The dedication of the *Orphic Hymns* by Orpheus to Musaeus creates a connection between the author, the addressee, the *orans*, the gods, the listeners or readers and in some cases a specific group on behalf of whom the demand is made. The gods of the collection do not appear at random but according to various rationales. The Orphic cosmogony accounts for some elements such as the presence of Protogonos among the early deities. Further explanations for the succession of gods can be found in the cosmogony, the rituals, as well as a general theme starting with birth and ending with death and thus echoing human life. As is often the case with this collection, much is to be discovered in allusions, often found in hymns close to one another. The connection between two gods is sometimes underlined by the use of a rare name, as has been shown in the case of Protogonos and Dionysus.

The *Orphic Hymns* differ in many ways from other texts of the hymnic genre and this has played a role in the negative comments arising from both historians of religion and philologists. Allusions to rituals and to actual religious titles, the use of performative words and the allusive character of the text set them apart. They are also dissimilar in terms of structure, mainly because they are fairly brief and allusive. As other hymns, they start with an invocation and end with a request, but instead of the traditional *pars epica*, the *Orphic hymns* contain strings of epithets and at times short clauses. This amplification, deriving from the invocation, is the longest part of the hymn and constitutes one aspect of their originality. Obviously the charm of stories, as they are found

48 Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: n. 11, 81.

49 Cf. Morand 2001: Plate 25, 298.

in the *Homeric Hymns*, is not present, but these texts do not just lay down a list of epithets leaving it to the gods to choose whatever suits them. A certain rhythm can be found in some of the hymns: a particular name of the god or a verse dedicated to a summing up of his or her qualities often create a climax before the final demand.

Close attention to one specific hymn, that of Protogonos, has also allowed for consideration of the literary form of these poems. Beyond a general impression of paratactic order, they have a certain underlying syntax. This last characteristic makes it at times difficult to know how to connect words, but versification as well as a good knowledge of the ways in which the collection works provide interpretative clues. Play on words and on sounds, as well as the use of rhetorical or stylistic devices such as anaphors, alliterations, assonances, reinforce the idea that unity is to be found beyond the words. The enigmatic nature of these texts is appropriate for religious discourse and in particular for Orphic texts, as can already be observed in a much earlier text, the Derveni papyrus. The reader is invited to find threads of meanings through the intentional opacity of the text. The allusions, the speculation on the meaning of the divine names and the wordplay on numbers would have been an ideal ground for mystical interpretations such as the ones attested in Pythagorean circles.

In terms of belief, the hymn to Protogonos with its allusions to both Zeus and Dionysus shows that the *Orphic Hymns* are in harmony with what can be found in other texts attributed to Orpheus. In this context, it is also possible to show the kinds of narratives, based on that specific hymn, which could be constructed by an audience. Despite the difficulties arising from the fragmentary nature of the parallels and the allusive character of the *Orphic Hymns*, further investigation of these somewhat neglected texts is worthwhile.

CHAPTER 11

The Poet and His Addressees in Orphic Hymns

M. Herrero de Jáuregui

Orphic Hymnic Poetry

The collection of *Orphic Hymns*, most probably composed within some Dionysiac thiasos in Asia Minor around the 2nd century AD, starts with a proem addressed to 70 gods, the largest number of dedicatees in any extant poem from ancient Greece. The apparent intention of this proem is to address a hymn to all gods, as in Proclus' fourth 4—but while Proclus does not name the gods, the proem of the *Orphic Hymns* attempts to include the names of the whole divine pantheon.[1] It begins with these lines:

Μάνθανε δή, Μουσαῖε, θυηπολίην περισέμνην,
εὐχήν, ἣ δή τοι προφερεστέρη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων.
Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ Γαῖα καὶ οὐράνιαι φλόγες ἁγναὶ
Ἠελίου, Μήνης θ' ἱερὸν σέλας Ἄστρα τε πάντα·
καὶ σύ, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα ...

Learn now, Mousaios, a mystical and most holy rite,
A prayer which surely excels all others.
Kind Zeus and Earth, heavenly and pure flames of Sun,
Sacred light of Moon, and of all the Stars;
Poseidon, too, dark maned holder of the earth ...[2]

After a series of vocatives, there is a transition in lines 14–15 to accusatives, which depend on a performative verb:

καὶ τὸ Δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ Εὐσεβίης μέγ' ὄνειαρ
κικλήσκω Νύμφας τε κλυτὰς καὶ Πᾶνα μέγιστον.

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1 The proem is commented upon by Ricciardelli 2000: 221–233. Morand (this volume 209–211) confirms the consistancy between the proem and the rest of the collection, and hence its sharing the same authorship. On Proclus' hymns, cf. Devlin (this volume).

2 Translations of the *Orphic Hymns* are by Athanassakis and Wolkow: 2013.

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I call upon the great blessings of Justice and Piety,
I call upon the glorious Nymphs and upon Pan the greatest.

This structure will remain constant until the end of the hymn: performative verbs are repeated in lines 24 (καλέω) and 40 (κικλήσκω). In the final lines of the hymn (43–44) the gods are asked to come to "this holy rite":

εὐμενέας ἐλθεῖν κεχαρημένον ἦτορ ἔχοντας
τήνδε θυηπολίην ἱερὴν σπονδήν τ' ἐπὶ σεμνήν.

[I ask] them to come in a spirit of joyous mercy,
to this holy rite, to this reverent libation.

Let us now turn to the antithesis of this poem, the so-called *Testament of Orpheus*, a poem composed by Alexandrian Jews in the Hellenistic age, in which the Thracian bard rejects his previous polytheism and sings the one true God.[3] Leaving aside here the apologetic contents of the poem, it is noteworthy that its form and structure closely imitate those of "pagan" Orphic poems, as is clear from the initial and closing lines:[4]

φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
πάντες ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,
Μουσαῖε, ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται, ...

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3 *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (henceforth OF) 377–378 in the recent edition of Bernabé 2004–2007. On the different versions of this poem, the standard works are Riedweg 1993; Holladay 1996: 159–180; Jourdan 2010. Riedweg's hypothesis of an earlier version closer to pagan models and a re-elaboration with more explicit Jewish content is the most plausible one.

4 The beginning of the *Testament* is quoted according to the shorter version (*OF* 377: Ps.-Iust. *Coh.* 15.1; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 7.74), since it is closer to the Orphic models, which is our focus here. The end of the shorter version has several textual problems, so for the sake of clarity I offer that of the longer version (*OF* 378: Eus. *PE* 13.12.4), with more explicit Jewish content (e. g. the λόγος ἀρχαίων, alluding to Plato's quotation in *Leg.* 715e of the Orphic expression about Zeus being first, middle and last, is attributed to Moses: ὡς ὑδογενὴς διέταξεν).

… ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν,
ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑδογενὴς διέταξεν,
ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμῃσι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.
ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν· τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα,
ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει.
ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζευ, γλώσσης
εὖ μάλ' ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ ἔνθεο φήμην.

I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors, you
uninitiated,
all of you alike. But you Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,
listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former
imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.
But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,
letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly
upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe,
the immortal one. An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one.
He is one, complete in himself, and all things are completed by him …
… Since he controls their beginning, as well as their middle and end,
so the Word of the ancients, so the one born in the water set it forth,
after receiving the teachings from God in statements on the two-tablet
law
For me me to say anything other than this is not permissible for
you—and in fact I shudder
At the very thought. From on high he rules over everything in order.
Oh child, approach in your thoughts, holding well
your tongue, and preserve this divine message in your heart.[5]

Despite being diametrically opposite in their contents, the proem of the collection and the *Testament* offer close structural similarities. They both start with an invocation to Musaeus; both lay a claim to religious superiority (εὐχήν, ἣ δή τοι προφερεστέρη and ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα); both are linked to initiation at the beginning and the end of the poem (secret teaching in the *Testament*, deictic reference to "this ritual" in the hymnic proem); and both sing the praise of the deity or deities invoked using the same paratactic and condensed style in which the intertextual reference to previous traditions provides the key to interpreting the poem. These are all formal features attached to the authorial role of Orpheus, and therefore shared by most Orphic hymns, however different their theological contents and ritual contexts may be.

5 Translation adapted from Holladay 1996b.

This chapter will not dwell on the doctrinal contents nor on the greater or lesser presence of "Orphism" in the different extant Orphic hymns,[6] but rather on the narratological consequences implied by their attribution to Orpheus. It may seem paradoxical to discuss narratology in hymns notoriously characterized by their lack of story-telling. However, in a volume dedicated to the role of narrative in different hymnic genres, it is interesting to note that in Orphic hymns an explicit narrative is purposefully absent. The hymnic tale is replaced by other ways to please the gods through song, which are markedly unnarrative. And yet Orphic hymns, in and out of the collection, are not a mere litany where the meaning of each word is less important than their intense repetition to accomplish contact with the divine, as in the mantra or the Rosary. On the contrary, the sophisticated epithets with which the gods are addressed are pleasing to them because they refer specifically to particular myths known by the initiates. The attribution to Orpheus as singer of these myths is an indispensable part of the conceptual frame in which these implicit narratives work. Therefore, this paper will examine the combination of the authorial voice of the mythical poet reactualized by the priest and/or initiates who sing the hymns in the actual (or fictional) performance, with the multiple addressees of the hymns: a fictional addressee, Musaeus; an indirect addressee, the initiates; and a direct addressee, the gods. Far from being purely formal questions, as we shall see, the intermingling of these different actors provides the key to understanding the religious authority of Orphic poems.

An analysis of the speakers and addressees of Orphic hymns has not been explicitly attempted hitherto for three different reasons. On the one hand, Orphic hymns are often (and wrongly) taken as literary or scholarly hymns, and are usually omitted from studies on religious or cultic hymns.[7] On the other hand, they are seldom considered high literature like the *Homeric Hymns* or Callimachean hymns, so there have been several studies on the collection of *Orphic Hymns* that have focused on the religious contents of the poems, their internal relations, and their links (or lack thereof) with the Orphic theogonies, but in comparison to these topics their literary dimension has often been taken as a minor issue.[8] Thirdly, studies of Orphic hymnic poetry have focused solely

6 On the never-ending Orphic question, which can be avoided in this paper, cf. Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 1–30; Henrichs 2010: 87–114.

7 E.g. Furley and Bremer 2001: 49–50 omit the Orphic hymns in their study of Greek hymns. The prejudice that the religiosity of the *mystai* who used the collection is superficial is not any more accepted (Graf 2009: 169–182).

8 On the collection of *Orphic Hymns*, cf. the commentary of Ricciardelli 1995, and the comprehensive studies of Morand 2001 and Rudhardt 2008. The literary plays with epithets are studied by Hopman-Govers 2001: 35–49, and their religious function by Graf 2009.

on the collection, and the other hymns attributed to Orpheus have not been examined in relation to it, although they share many formal structures: the poet(s) of the collection had some models, in the shape of the earlier Orphic hymns, as we can see through comparison with hymnic poems preserved outside the collection. The poetic markers of Orphic hymns of Imperial times—the typical strings of divine names and epithets, along with anaphora of the god's name, or repetition of πᾶς and its compounds—can be recognized already in lines preserved in quotations of the 4th cent. BC.[9] It seems clear, therefore, that they had some clearly distinctive features within the hymnic genre, as is also the case, for example, of Isis' aretalogies with their marked *ich-Stil*.

Of course, ancient authors could label "hymn" a variety of Orphic poems, with the sense of "poem about the gods," not necessarily invocative. The Derveni commentator in the 4th cent. BCE calls the theogony he is commenting upon a "hymn," while the rhetorician Menander in the 2nd cent. CE says that "most of the hymns by Orpheus are φυσιολογικοί, like those of Parmenides and Empedocles." While talking of "genealogical hymns" (theogonies), he says that Hesiod's are superior to Orpheus.'[10] In this paper, I will take a narrow scope and keep separate the theogonies from the hymns *stricto sensu*, while keeping in mind that hymnic passages often were included in the theogonies.

For instance, such was the case of the so-called (by modern scholars) Hymn to Zeus, much celebrated and quoted by many ancient authors, from Plato to Apuleius, and very influential on others, like the Stoic Cleanthes. The anaphoric exaltation with Zeus as an all-encompassing deity uniting opposites (Zeus first and last, Zeus male and female, etc.) is the common trait in the three preserved variants: the hymn of nine lines quoted in the treatise *De mundo* attributed to Aristotle; a similar version preserved in a papyrus of late Hellenistic date; and a longer (32 lines) pantheistic hymn in which the parts of the cosmos are the parts of Zeus' body. Though inserted into Orphic theogonies, different

9 In the Derveni Papyrus, an invocative line by Orpheus spoken "in the *Hymns*" would fit perfectly in the Imperial collection (Δημήτηρ [Ῥ]έα Γῆ Μή[τ]ηρ ⟨τε καὶ⟩ Ἑστία Δηιώι). Also the Derveni theogony has typically hymnic traits: in fragments *OF* 4–18, out of 30 preserved lines, forms of πᾶς appear 10 times. Also Zeus' name is repeated 15 times. For these features of hymnic language, cf. Keyssner 1932: 28–47 on the "hyperbolische Stil" expressed by the insistence on total power (36 on the *Orphic Hymns*).

10 P. Derv. cols. VII and XXII; Men. Rhet. 333.12; 340.25 (in 337.10–12 he talks about Pythagorean hymns, precisely after discussing those of Parmenides and Empedocles, and he says that they are "short and enigmatic"); other passages using the term loosely are Eur. *Alc.* 359; Plat. *Leg.* 829d. Pausanias (9.30.12.5) and Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 41.2) seem to be using the term *stricto sensu* for hymnic prayers (both texts will be quoted below, n. 29).

versions may also have been transmitted as independent poems.[11] Yet whatever the exact relation between these versions may be, it seems clear that they are expansions in different directions of the four hymnic lines about Zeus in the Derveni theogony (*OF* 14, quoted below p. 152). All these hymns are in the third person, but the transition from third to second person could be easily made, as is shown by *Orphic Hymn* 15 in the collection, addressed to Zeus, which in line 7 echoes this traditional Orphic expression (παντογένεθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή, "father of all, / beginning and end of all"); another derivation in the vocative is the (parodic?) extreme pantheism of a couplet invoking "Zeus most glorious, greatest of gods, rolled up in dung / be it of sheep, or of horses, or of mules."[12] Other paradigmatic instances of independent hymnic poems attributed to Orpheus are a neo-Pythagorean hymn to Number, a version of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, or a hymn to the Sun quoted by Macrobius.[13]

These examples should be enough to show that the collection of *Orphic Hymns* is the most important extant evidence of a wider category, the hymns ascribed to Orpheus: this is the scope of the following analysis, which can be applied to the hymns both in and outside the collection (to avoid confusions, the former will be indicated by their number within the collection, while the latter are referred to as *Orphica* in Bernabé's edition).

The Poet's Voice: Orpheus

The only indisputably common feature of Orphic hymns is that they are ascribed to the mythical Thracian bard Orpheus. This implies several consequences: a supposed composition in the mythical *illud tempus* (in Eliade's terminology) of the heroic age; the immediate divine inspiration of Calliope's son,

11 *OF* 31 is quoted by Ps.-Arist. *De mund.* 401a25; *OF* 688a is preserved in PSI XV 1476; *OF* 243 is quoted by Eus. *PE* 3.8.2. Bernabé 2009: 56–85 makes a plausible reconstruction of the relation between these versions of the hymn to Zeus. The many partial quotations in other authors (cf. n. 3 for Plato's quotation and its echo in the *Testament*), are reassembled in Bernabé's edition of the three fragments.

12 *OF* 848, quoted by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 4.115) as Orpheus' and by Philostratus (*Her.* 25.2) as Pamphus.' The text of the second line is slightly different in each version, but the initial line is identical: Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε θεῶν, εἰλυμένε κόπρῳ.

13 Hymn to Number = *OF* 695–705; *Hymn to Demeter* = *OF* 379–402; Hymn to the Sun = 539–543 (quoted below, p. 239 f.); cf. also *OF* 690 and 691 (quoted below, nn. 33 and 39). The Hellenistic *P. Gurob* 1 (*OF* 578), containing instructions for an Orphic *telete*, contains some hexametrical lines in which first person plural performative verbs invoke different gods, which seems to point to an Orphic hymn in a clearly ritual context.

who was not only poet but also *theologos*; and a loose relation with mysteries and *teletai*, i.e. rituals for initiates, of which Orpheus was a paradigmatic founder. Whenever a hymn is ascribed to Orpheus, it immediately lays claim to these connotations. We do not need to posit here the perennial Orphic problem of whether any specific theological, cosmological or anthropological doctrines were also implied by this attribution.[14]

The *Du-stil* (alternating with *Er-stil*) of addressing the gods in these poems gives an absolute predominance to the authorial role: unlike many other sacred hymns, in Orphic hymns there are no speeches by any god (*ich-Stil*), but the speaker is always the poet. However, this all-important ascription to Orpheus is almost always external, either as the heading of the manuscript (in the case of the collection of *Orphic Hymns*) or, in the diverse hymns transmitted through quotations, by "Orpheus says," or ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς, or similar expressions. But how present is the Thracian poet in the actual hymns? As in the *Homeric Hymns* or Callimachean hymns, or generally in ancient hexametrical poetry, there is limited space in the poem for the poet's voice. In the collection, the first person in many hymns is a performative verb referring to the very act of singing or invoking the gods (ἱλάομαι, κικλήσκω, καλέω, as in the aforementioned proem). Such performative verbs refer as much to the initial composer as to any present or future singer of the hymn. All that has been said for Homeric poetry—most persuasively by Gregory Nagy in his book *Poetry and Performance*[15]—about the impersonation or reenactment of the mythical poet by subsequent rhapsodes, is even truer of hymnic Orphic poetry. The invocation by the poet is repeated in an eternal present every time the hymn is sung.

However, these performative verbs do not reveal anything of the identity of the primordial singer, so that relationship to the voice of Orpheus generally depends on the external ascription of authorship to him. Within the collection of *Orphic Hymns*, there are only two hints at the identity of the poet as being Orpheus, when mention is made of "mother Calliope": in *Hymn* 76 *to the Muses* Calliope is, as is traditional, given the last and most prominent position, and the fact that she is the author's mother is recalled (10: Καλλιόπηι σὺν μητρὶ καὶ εὐδυνάτηι θεᾶι Ἁγνῆι); the other instance, at the end of *Hymn* 24 *to the Nereids*, is particularly significant:

14 Whether or not ascription to Orpheus implied any "doctrinal" contents is the keystone of the debate between Orpheo-sceptics (e. g. Linforth 1941: 164–173; West 1983: 2–3) and defenders of Orphism, e. g. Guthrie 1952; cf. Bernabé 2008 and Calame 2010. For the collection of *Orphic Hymns*, cf. Morand 2001: 90–94.

15 Nagy 1996.

ὑμᾶς κικλήσκω πέμπειν μύσταις πολὺν ὄλβον·
ὑμεῖς γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε σεμνὴν
εὐιέρου Βάκχοιο καὶ ἁγνῆς Φερσεφονείης,
Καλλιόπηι σὺν μητρὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι.

I call upon you to bring much prosperity to the initiates,
for you were first to show the holy rite
of sacred Bacchos and of pure Persephone,
you and mother Kalliope and Apollon the lord.

These four lines condense what is implied by Orpheus being the poet. The Nereids, according (only) to this hymn, were the first to reveal the mysteries of Dionysus and Persephone "along with mother Calliope and Apollo": this is a clear reference to the revelation by Orpheus—son also of Apollo in some traditions.[16] The mythical time in which the first revelation was accomplished is reactualized in the present petition of happiness for the initiates who have followed this revelation. Orpheus, once the agent of divine revelation, is now impersonated by the singer-priest, who cares about present happiness for the initiates and in an eternal present invokes (κικλήσκω) the gods on their behalf.

In the hymnic poems outside the collection the seal of Orpheus as singer is perceptible in some poetic *sphragides*, recognizable formulas that reveal authorship. The best known is the initial line of many Orphic poems: φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.[17] This line not only includes a first-person performative verb that announces the subsequent song, but also links the following poem with secret teaching reserved for initiates, the authorized addressees, about whom we shall speak below. In the *Testament*, after this first line and the invocation to Musaeus, there is another first-person verb which implies religious revelation: ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα. This line is also typical of revelatory discourse (there are similar utterances in Parmenides, Empedocles, and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*) and it probably belonged to the formulaic stock of Orphic poetry.[18] In all these statements of singing a reve-

16 E. g. Pind. *Py.* 4.176; Ov. *Met.* 10.167, and other texts collected as *OF* 895–901. The proem of the long compilative Orphic thegony of Imperial times, the *Rhapsodies*, resents the entire revelation that follows as an oracle from Apollo (*OF* 102: τήνδε ὀμφήν). Cf. Morand (in this volume p. 212) for discussion of the lines about Calliope.

17 *OF* 1; a common variant is συνετοῖσι for οἷς θέμις ἐστί.

18 Emp. fr. 17.1 DK; Parm. 2.1 DK; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 433. In *OF* 759, immediately after the invocation to Musaeus, Orpheus says ῥεῖά τοι ἐξερέω. A variant in the longer version of the *Testament* is ἐξενέπω.

lation for the initiates, the authoritative voice of the first theologian and poet resounds with a strong first person that legitimates the contents of the subsequent poem.

The Disciple-Initiate: Musaeus

The pendant of the mythical poet is the mythical addressee, Musaeus. Addressing a disciple was a typical feature of didactic poetry: Hesiod speaks to Perses, Theognis to Kyrnos and Empedocles to Pausanias. Likewise, Musaeus is associated with Orpheus from early literature, as son and/or as disciple. In hymnic poetry, by contrast, it is not usual to have a disciple as addressee. Nonetheless, in Orphic hymns, Musaeus appears in the first line of the proem of the collection (Μάνθανε δή, Μουσαῖε), and also at the beginning of the *Testament*, no doubt reflecting the model of other Orphic poems.[19] In both cases the invocation to Musaeus functions as a prologue, a kind of didactic introduction to the actual hymn. In the *Testament*, a clearly apologetic clause is introduced which carries a palinode of all previous Orphic songs (τὰ πρὶν). The remaining imperatives exhort him to follow the straight path (προσέδρευε, ἐπίβαινε) and contemplate truth (ἐσόρα), in the same tradition of poetic revelation that we find in the goddess to Parmenides, or Empedocles to Pausanias.[20] The address to Musaeus is repeated at the end of the poem, exhorting him to keep these teachings secret. This is also a *topos* of revelatory poetry, as in the long speech by Aphrodite to Anchises where she tells him the future.[21]

Thus Musaeus is more than the addressee of didactic poetry: he is the prototypical initiate who receives the revelation from his father/ teacher. The fact that in the *Testament* he is addressed after the initial *sphragis* is no surprise: he is contrasted with the profane (βέβηλοι) that are precluded from hearing, while he is exhorted to listen (σὺ δ' ἄκουε) as the first of the συνετοί to whom the poem is addressed. If Orpheus is the prototype of the poet and the priest who would compose and sing the hymns, Musaeus is the prototype of the initiates who would listen to them. On the other hand, he is also the link that

19 *OF* 759, a late astrological poem, starts with three lines addressed to Musaeus, on the model of earlier poems. Column VII of the Derveni papyrus, after commenting upon *OF* 1, is concerned with what Orpheus says "in the following line": a similar invocation to Musaeus could be expected for that line (cf. Herrero de Jáuregui 2005: 67–68). Morand (this volume p. 211–212) points to the relation of Musaeus and the Muses, an aspect not treated here.

20 *OF* 377, quoted above. Parm. ffr. 7–8 DK. Emp. fr. 3.8 DK.

21 *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 289–290.

explains how these poems have been transmitted from mythical time to the present generation of initiates. According to the prose paraphrase preserved in a papyrus of the 2nd century BCE, an Orphic version of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* was transmitted because Musaeus wrote and edited what Orpheus sang. Musaeus is, therefore, the first to receive this revelation.[22] However, the image of writing it down also implies keeping it secret, as the end of the *Testament* reminds us; that is, transmitting it only to other initiates and keeping it away from the profane.[23] If the first person of the performative verbs reminds us of the oral nature of hymns and of the voice of the poet Orpheus, the mention of Musaeus recalls the bookish transmission and the secret character claimed by Orphic literature.

The Initiates

A major difference between the Orphic hymns directly addressed to the gods, like those of the collection, and those which praise the god in *Er-Stil* is the role of the *mystai*. In the latter case the poem about the god(s) is addressed to mortal ears—those of the initiates: the συνετοί or οἷς θέμις ἐστί of *OF* 1 hear the subsequent poem. However, we lack any information about the cultic context of most of those poems and, except for those in the collection, we know them circulating out of any ritual performance, so they cannot be taken to allude to any real people. Most of these hymns were probably not meant to be sung in a ritual, but profit from the formal features of the hymnic genre to speculate about the divine.[24] By contrast, in the cultic hymns, addressed to the gods, the role of the *mystai* is more ambiguous.

As we have seen in the proem in the collection, the performative verbs are in the singular 1st person, so the initiates are not presented as speakers nor as direct addressees of the hymns, but rather, as the "dative" for whom the prayer is issued to the gods. Twice the initiate is generalized in the singular with a clearly ritual epithet (4.9: μύστῃι νεοφάντῃι and 41.10: εὐιέρωι σέο μύστῃι), while the plural is used very often, above all in the last lines of each poem together with the final prayer to the god. On the other hand, the speaker in the first person singular would be the poet or priest, and as such differentiated from

22 *P. Berol.* 44 (*OF* 383): οὓς ὀλίγα Μουσαῖος ἐπα[νορθώσας κατέγ]ραψεν. παρέδωκεν δὲ … These supplements of the first edition have not been contested. Cf. now Currie 2012 on this hymn.

23 Cf. Henrichs 2003: 207–266 on this association between sacred/ written/ secret.

24 On the hymn to the Sun said by Macrobius to be sung *in sacris liberalibus*, see n. 34.

the initiates. The *mystai*, then, from the purely formal point of view, would be neither speakers nor addressees, but mute beneficiaries of the effects of the hymns.

However, this formal distinction does not stand up to a deeper analysis that takes into account the active role of the initiates in the performance. On the one hand, when the hymn is sung, they listen to the prayers which are only intelligible to them. On the other hand, the initiates may also be singers of the hymn. An enlightening parallel comes from the fragments of hexametric prayer preserved in the Gurob papyrus (*OF* 578: 3rd cent. BCE), presumably to be sung in an Orphic ritual: performative verbs in the 1st person plural (καλῶμεν, κικλήσκωμεν, ἵνα ποιῶμεν ἱερὰ καλά, ἡμῖν) are combined with petitions for the individual initiate (σῶισον με, δῶρον δέξατ' ἐμόν). Much has been written on the poetic *ego* of choral lyric and tragic choruses,[25] and the classical blending of the singular speaker and the group of singers can also be applied to collective recitation of the *Orphic Hymns*, no matter through which performance technique (all together, by turns, all represented by one). As a proof of such blending, the first person plural creeps in on at least two occasions, showing that the group of initiates is merging with the poetic *ego* of the singer. The clearest instance is the beginning of *Orphic Hymn* 15 to Zeus:

> Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε, τήνδε τοι ἡμεῖς
> μαρτυρίαν τιθέμεσθα λυτήριον ἠδὲ πρόσευξιν.
> ὦ βασιλεῦ …
>
> Much-honoured Zeus, great god, indestructible Zeus,
> we lay before you in prayer redeeming testimony.
> O king …

This "we" which sets up the invocation is matched by the "I" which, after 8 lines of epithets, closes the hymn:

> κλῦθί μου, αἰολόμορφε, δίδου δ' ὑγίειαν ἀμεμφῆ
> εἰρήνην τε θεὰν καὶ πλούτου δόξαν ἄμεμπτον.
>
> Hear me, god of many faces, grant me unblemished health,
> please grant me divine peace and riches, please grant me glory without blame.

25 For this heated debate, cf. the defense of the choral *ego* in Pindar's odes in Burnett 1989 and Carey 1991 vs. Lefkowitz 1991.

Another case is provided by the final lines of *Orphic Hymn* 66 to Hephaestus:

> κλῦθι, μάκαρ, **κλήιζω** ⟨σε⟩ πρὸς εὐιέρους ἐπιλοιβάς,
> αἰεὶ ὅπως χαίρουσιν ἐπ' ἔργοις ἥμερος ἔλθοις.
> παῦσον λυσσῶσαν μανίαν πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
> καῦσιν ἔχων φύσεως ἐν σώμασιν **ἡμετέροισιν**.
>
> Hear me, lord, as I summon you to this holy libation,
> that you may always come gentle to joyful deeds,
> end the savage rage of untiring fire
> as nature itself burns in our own bodies.

There are yet other cases of the 1st person plural, where it seems, however, to refer to "mortals" in general, rather than to the initiates. A dubious case is the second line of *Hymn* 3 to Night (Νὺξ γένεσις πάντων, ἣν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν), which has been considered by editors to be a later speculative insertion.[26] In *Hymn* 59 *to the Moirai* it is said (14 f.): ἐπεί γ' ὅσα γίγνεται ἡμῖν / Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα ("Fate and Zeus' mind know all things that happen to us for all time"). This "us" seems to correspond to "mortals" in θνητοῖσιν ἀνάγκη four lines later. Finally, in *Hymn 37*, the Titans are invoked as "the ancestors of our fathers" (2: ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων).

These two types of "we" correspond to the division between mankind in general, often alluded to at the beginning of the hymns or when praising the power of the gods over all mortals, and the select group of initiates, for which special protection is asked at the end of the hymns. *Hymn* 78 to the Dawn is a paradigmatic instance of such a distinction. It begins with the line Κλῦθι, θεά, θνητοῖς φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ ἄγουσα ("Hear, O goddess, you bring the light of day to mortals"), and throughout the hymn the goddess' benefits for the whole of mankind are recalled (6–7: βίου πρόπολε θνητοῖσιν / ἧι χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος; 10: πᾶς δὲ βροτὸς γήθει 12: πάντα γὰρ ἐργάσιμον βίοτον θνητοῖσι πορίζεις). The hymn concludes with a petition for special benefits for the initiates: ἀλλά, μάκαιρ', ἁγνή, μύσταις ἱερὸν φάος αὔξοις.

The collection of *Orphic Hymns*, therefore, articulates the typical distinction between profane and initiated in a milder version where all mankind receives benefits from the gods, but the initiates receive special treatment. There is no polar opposition between salvation for the initiates and condemnation of the profane; rather, the former constitute a circle of people who are closer to the

26 Morand 2001: 189 makes a forceful defense of its authenticity.

gods. This seems consistent with the absence of references to the afterlife which often has been noted as a surprisingly "un-Orphic" feature of the collection:[27] indeed, destiny in the afterlife tends to sharply divide the initiates from the profane. Instead, their distinction in this world may be much more relative, and such is the case here. As the proem says, Musaeus learns "a prayer better than any other,"[28] which is somewhat different from a special doctrine as implied in the poems beginning with the more aggressive *OF* 1 or even farther away from the one truth told to Musaeus in the *Testament* as a refutation of previous teachings.

What is claimed for these initiates is that they deserve better treatment because they pray in a way that is more pleasant to the gods, and therefore they are worthier of their favour. While the direct addressees of the hymns are the gods, the initiates are recipients of the Orphic tradition that has taught them, starting with Musaeus, the best way to pray. Their link through this chain to Orpheus, with whose poetic ego they are identified when singing his hymns, is what makes them address the gods in a special way that is particularly dear to them.

Two passages by Pausanias and Aelius Aristides about Orphic hymnic poetry are worth remembering here. The former said "the Lycomidai know the hymns of Orpheus and sing them during their rites (ἴσασί τε καὶ ἐπᾴδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις)." The latter said "we have the complete hymns and tales about Dionysus by Orpheus and Musaeus and the oldest lawgivers: we sing them ourselves to the god with harmonious voice as a *symbolon* that we are not uninitiated."[29] If the singing by the Lycomidai might suggest singing by priests, Aelius' passage points to singing by all initiates. This might vary according to the specific ritual. But in any case, all the evidence suggests that the hymns imply a specific knowledge of the initiates to understand them. As has been often remarked, in the hymns there are gods known only in the Orphic theogonies (e.g. Protogonos); there are allusions to other Orphic poems through epithets that only those who know them can understand (e.g. τριφυής for Dionysus); there are frequent *hapax legomena*, loose associations, and purposefully contradictory statements (e. g. μητροπάτωρ) only graspable, both intellectually and intuitively, by the συνετοί.[30] Thus the song that most pleases the gods is

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27 Morand 2001: 209–230, and this volume p. 216.

28 This moderate tone is perhaps the reason for the comparative expression προφερεστέρη ἁπάσεων instead of the superlative προφερεστάτη that could be normally expected.

29 Pausanias 9.30.12.5; Aelius Aristides, *Or*. 41.2.

30 Morand 2001: 249–250. Cf. Morand (this volume p. 217) for the underlying "syntax" of the strings of epithets.

only attainable through the initiatory tradition of Orphic wisdom. The sign of mutual recognition between *mystai* or for the *mystai* and the gods themselves was a mystic *symbolon* that others could not understand. When singing and listening to these hymns, the initiates and the gods understood them as such a *symbolon*.

The Addressees of the Hymns: The God(s)

In the introduction to this chapter I pointed out that in general Orphic hymns are not narrative, but invocatory and descriptive.[31] They do not aim to honour the gods by singing their deeds, but by calling them by the names and epithets that are most pleasant for them. The *Du-stil* of the hymns is patent in the frequency of the vocative and of verbs in the imperative addressed to the gods (ἐλθέ, κλυθί), who should, upon listening to the hymn, concede their favour to the singers. As we saw, it alternates easily with *Er-stil* in the nominative, often after a relative clause, or in the accusative as objects of the performative verb. But there is never *ich-Stil* nor any recreated dialogues with the gods, for these hymns do not spring from a direct revelation from the gods, but from Orpheus' knowledge of the essence of the divine. There is no epiphany as in aretalogies, not even in an indirect way through the narration of a mythical epiphany of the god as in the *Homeric Hymns* to Demeter, Apollo, Aphrodite or Dionysus. Unlike Callimachean or Homeric hymns, men do not learn anything anew from Orphic hymns, because they are supposed to know it already as initiates.[32] These poems presuppose a previous teaching and their only goal is to please their addressees, the gods.

The way to reach such a goal is the most characteristic formal feature of Orphic hymns, both in and outside the collection, i.e. the accumulation of strings of epithets and names which aim to cover the maximum theological

31 The non-narrative style of later Orphic hymns imitated that of earlier ones (cf. n. 9 *supra*) *pace* Furley 2011: 217 for whom the character of Orphic (and other) hymns was "in most cases theogonical": of course, just as Menander Rhetor, he considers all Orphic poems, including theogonies, hymns (228). An exception to the non-narrative character of Orphic hymns are the Orphic versions of the *Hymn to Demeter* (cf. Currie 2012).

32 A rule-confirming exception is *Orphic Hymn* 41 *to Mother Antaia*, where Demeter's descent to Hades in search of Persephone is briefly narrated. This is a unique version of the myth (as is the revelation by the Nereids in *Hymn* 24, quoted above), and therefore it must be told to the initiates, who may not be familiar with it, contrary to other mythical episodes more common in the Orphic tradition.

space for each god. The gods are addressed with conventional epithets and names, and also with others which reflect theological speculation supposed to convey a true aspect of the personality of the god. In the names which they receive the myths and powers of the gods are subsumed. The exalted language typical of the Orphic hymn allows the singer(s) to proclaim the nature of the god only through the utterance of his/her names, titles, and epithets, without any need of a logical or narrative explanation of why the god(dess) deserves them.

Again, the situation varies when analyzing independent Orphic hymns and those of the collection. On one side, the diverse variants of the hymn to Zeus emphasize his all-encompassing personality through anaphora of his name, under which all other names are subsumed, and in whose repetition resonates the whole theogonical tale culminating in him. The most reduced and probably original form of the hymn, the four lines that form the climax of the Derveni theogony, show well this strategy (*OF* 14):

> Ζεὺς πρῶτος [γένετο, Ζεὺς] ὕστατος [ἀργικέραυνος·
> Ζεὺς κεφα[λή, Ζεὺς μέσ]σα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ [π]άντα τέτ[υκται·
> Ζεὺς πνοιὴ πάντων, Ζεὺς πάντων ἔπλετο] μοῖρα·
> Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς δ' ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων ἀργικέραυνος.
>
> Zeus was first, Zeus of bright lightning the last;
> Zeus is the head, the middle, and all things come from Zeus.
> Zeus is the breath of all, Zeus the fate of all.
> Zeus is king, Zeus of bright light is the ruler of all.

At the other extreme, other hymns show a tendency to depersonalize the supreme god: either he is addressed as a *theos* (e.g. the *Testament*), not addressed under any name (e.g. *OF* 691, a hymn quoted by Clement of Alexandria in which there is no specific addressee beyond general appellatives like τύραννε or μέγιστε θεῶν πάντων), or he is named as an abstract entity (e.g. *Arithmos* in the hymn to Number). These are of course the most adequate strategies for those who use Orphic hymnic techniques to praise a god according to theological agendas alien to the traditional Greek pantheon (Jewish in the case of the *Testament* and *OF* 691;[33] neo-Pythagorean in the hymn to Number).

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33 Rather than a Jewish composition like the *Testament*, *OF* 691 seems to be a poem in which the name of Zeus (or other supreme god) has been suppressed by Clement's Jewish apologetic source (or Clement himself, *Strom.* 5.14.125.1). The style of this hymn

Yet a third possible way of shaping the divine personality in a hymn is the equation of the names of different gods so that the god addressed is the result of the syncretistic identification of them all. The fragments of the Orphic hymn to the Sun are extremely revealing of such a technique (*OF* 539, 540, 542, 543):[34]

κέκλυθι τηλεπόρου δίνης ἑλικαύγεα κύκλον
οὐρανίαις στροφάλιγξι περίδρομον αἰὲν ἑλίσσων
ἀγλαὲ Ζεῦ Διόνυσε, πάτερ πόντου, πάτερ αἴης
Ἥλιε παγγεωέτορ πανταίολε χρυσεονφεγγές
…
τήκων αἰθέρα δῖον ἀκίνητον πρὶν ἐόντα
ἐξανέφηνε θεοῖσιν Ἔρων κάλλιστον ἰδέσθαι
ὅν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον
Εὐβοθλῆά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον.
ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο καλοῦσιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων.
πρῶτος δ' ἐς φάος ἦλθε, Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη,
οὕνεκα δινεῖται κατ' ἀπείρονα μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον.
ἀλλαχθεὶς δ' ὄνομ' ἔσχε προσωνυμίας πρὸς ἑκάστων
παντοσαπάς, κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμειβομένοιο χρόνοιο
…
Ἥλιος, ὃν Διόνυσον ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν
…
εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος,
εἷς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι, τί σοι δίχα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύω

Hear, you who ever make your orb with its circling rays
whirl round in heavenly eddies, traveling far in its circuit,
splendid Zeus, Dionysus, father of sea, father of earth,
Sun who begets all, all radiant, shining like gold
…
Melting the bright ether that was before now unmoved,
he revealed to the sight of the gods most beautiful Eros,

is strikingly akin to that of the hymns of the collection (e.g. strings of epithets, a totalizing mention of the cosmic elements and the seasons, a final ἐλθέ). However, the sense of "angels" perhaps shows Jewish influence (10–11: σῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρεστᾶσιν πολύμοχθοι / ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται·). West 1983: 35–36 suggests that it may belong to the same hymn as *OF* 691 (cf. n. 35), a line also quoted by Clement in *Strom.* 5.14.116.1.

34 Translation adapted from Kaster: 2011.

the one they now call both Phanes and Dionysus
sovereign Euboules and Antauges seen from afar:
among men who dwell on earth, some give him one name other another.
First he came into the light, and was named Dionysus,
because he whirls along the limitless length of Olympus;
but then he changed his name and took on forms of address of every sort
from every source, as suits the alternating seasons.
…
The sun, whom they call with the surname Dionysus.
…
Zeus is one, Hades is one, the sun is one, Dionysus is one,
God is one in all. Why do I speak of this to you separately?

These fragments are quoted by Macrobius as a proof of the identity of Dionysus and Apollo. Their highly speculative content is put in hymnic form with short theogonical references which would explain the different names of the same god. Although Macrobius says that it was sung in the Dionysiac mysteries (*Sat.* 1.18.22: *in sacris liberalibus*), we cannot be sure that this hymn was ever sung in any real ritual, for its theological concerns and its transmission in apologetic contexts makes it rather a product of late antique speculation;[35] nevertheless, it derives from hymnic models with a cultic context: we do know that in Hellenistic times there were poems with ritual links containing similar expressions.[36] We must assume, therefore, that the syncretistic strategy that it deploys is also present in early Orphic hymns. In fact, such a strategy is present already in the line quoted by the Derveni commentator from "the Orphic hymns": Δημήτηρ [Ῥ]έα Γῆ Μή[τ]ηρ ⟨τε καὶ⟩ Ἑστία Δηιώι.[37]

35 Cf. Linforth 1941: 205, 231, 284 on Macrobius' passages. Henrichs 2012 situates the crafting of at least the last couplet by professional theologians in the 3rd cent CE worried about the unity of the divine. In Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 94–95 I suggest that the last line may be a Jewish or Christian addition to the original Orphic poem.

36 Diodorus 1.11.2 quotes an Orphic line (*OF* 60: τούνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον). In the Gurôb Papyrus (*OF* 578), after a series of hexametric invocations the next line (23) has: εἷς Διόνυσος σύμβολα. Cf. Morand 2001: 276–282.

37 On this line, cf. Betegh 2004: 189–190, 263–264; Henrichs 2010. Also the few preserved hexametric lines of a prayer in P. Gurôb (*OF* 578) accumulate divine names: Brimo, Demeter, Rhea, Kouretes, Eubuleus, Erikepaios.

The collection of *Orphic Hymns* uses several of these methods, except the one that de-personalizes the god completely in favour of an anonymous *theos*. On the contrary, names are everywhere in the collection: we find invocations to abstract gods, like Dikaiosyne or Nomos, or to more traditional gods of myth, in and out of the Orphic tradition (e. g. Artemis and Protogonos, Hera and Hipta). The abstract gods receive enumerations of their qualities, while those gods with a marked personality are invoked with allusions to mythical events that reveal the nature of the god, condensed in epithets or brief sentences or relative clauses. In both cases, the individuality of the gods is reinforced in each hymn. But at the same time the syncretistic technique that equates names of different gods is also present in the hymns: different gods not only receive the same epithets, but sometimes are equated with each other through the juxtaposition of their names.[38] For instance in *Hymn 52*, Dionysus is addressed with his typical features of the god of ecstasy and wine, and given titles which allude to his personal mythology as son of Semele (μηροτρεφές) and to his death as the Zagreus of the Orphic theogonies (τριφυής). He is also given solar epithets like χρυσεγχής (of gold spear) or πυριφεγγής (shining like fire). He is also addressed with names typical of other gods: he is called Paian, the traditional cult-name of Apollo, which also appears in the collection as Helios (8), Heracles (12), Pan (11) and Asclepios (67); and in the striking sixth line (Πρωτόγον', Ἠρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱέ) Dionysus is addressed with the names of the god addressed in *Hymn* 6 dedicated to Protogonos-Phanes: by identifying Dionysus with that primeval god, he can be both "father and son of the gods."[39]

The collection, then, combines different ways of addressing the gods with the names that should most please them because they reveal their personality in the truest and most complete way. Where Homeric or Callimachean hymns aim to narrate a paradigmatic myth that illuminates one dimension of the god, Orphic hymns try to cover all dimensions of the god. Not only should each god or group of gods (Moirai, Horai, Muses) be pleased individually, but the collection aims also to please all gods together, as it is clear from the proem. Such is the logical consequence of the constant attempt to cover in the prayer all possible space within the divine realm. The gods are addressed with epithets, names and clauses that expand their power to the farthest possible limits, and the same logic forces the singer to leave no god unattended. Not only the proem, but also the sequence of hymns follows a pattern that covers all the possibilities of the divine pantheon. Fritz Graf has shown that it seems

38 Cf. Herrero de Jáuregui 2010 and Morand (this volume) 219–221.

39 *OF* 691 (cf. n. 33 above) presents a similar paradox: υἱὲ Διὸς μεγάλοιο, πάτερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

to correspond to the ritual during which the hymns were sung, so that both the ritual and the sequence of hymns follow a pattern that covers the divine pantheon from beginning (Hecate, Prothyraia, Night) to end (Thanatos).[40]

This "poetics of the ensemble" in the collection of *Orphic Hymns* wholly preserves the polytheistic frame of reference while covering all the divine space. It might have been original, or perhaps in imitation of other *corpora* of Orphic hymns, as some external evidence suggests. Already the Derveni commentator quotes an Orphic line from "the Hymns" implying there was a corpus with this title.[41] But the most significant evidence comes from Pausanias, who describing the sanctuary at Phlya says (9.30.12.5): "Anyone who has made a serious study of poetry knows that each of the hymns of Orpheus is extremely short (ἕκαστον τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύτατον) and when you take them together (καὶ τὸ σύμπαν) not numerous. The Lycomidai know them and sing them during the rites. In the beauty of their verses they are second to the hymns of Homer, but in their honouring of the divine they surpass them."[42] Rather than as individual poems, the effect of these hymns seems accomplished only as a whole.

Instead, other Orphic hymns like the variants of hymn to Zeus, the hymn to the Sun or the *Testament* attempted to cover all that space in one hymn, either by subsuming all in one sole god or by identifying several gods as one and the same. Each hymn or group of hymns, in their own way, aimed to address the gods in the most complete way, a thoroughness that could be attained only through special knowledge of the divine.

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40 Graf 2009. Earlier bibliography on the non-arbitrary order of the collection in Morand (this volume, n. 17).

41 Comp. Faulkner 2011c: 175–205 on the earlier phases of the formation of the collection of *Homeric Hymns*. Of course a body of texts in classical times does not need to be identical with the scholarly collections compiled from Hellenistic times. That col. XXII quotes a line "from the Hymns" seems to imply that the poem previously commented upon does not belong to this collection (*pace* Furley 2011: 214). Instead, perhaps OF 687 and 688, identical to Homeric lines (*Od.* 8.335 and *Il.* 24.527 f.), were taken by the commentator from this body of Orphic hymns, since they are invocative, seem unrelated to the previous theogony, and are quoted in col. XXVI (but it cannot be excluded that the commentator is at this point quoting Homer).

42 There is no basis to assume that Pausanias is referring to "the hymns" quoted by the Derveni commentator (*pace* Furley 2011: 216). The extant collection seems to spring from Asia Minor, and therefore cannot be identified either with that of the Lycomidai.

Conclusion

At the end of this examination of speakers and addressees, we can see why the proem to the *Orphic Hymns* claims to be a "better prayer." The line between addressing the gods and talking about them is always diffuse in hymnic Greek poetry, but in Orphic hymns a special theological knowledge is the main basis of the poems addressed to the gods: initiates know the truth about them through the revelation of Orpheus, and that enables them to pray in a particular way that, being more pleasant to the gods addressed, will bring them more benefits. The truth contained in these doctrines, the way it is expressed in the prayer, the addressed deities, and the benefits expected may vary with each poem, for this formal model of initiatory hymns was used for many different religious purposes. However, what remained constant in Orphic hymns was the religious authority that enabled Orpheus' voice to convey "the better prayer" to the initiates. It was the basic tale about the Thracian theologian that underlay Orphic hymns and thus allowed these apparently dry strings of epithets to convey juicy religious messages.

CHAPTER 12

Hymns in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*

I. Petrovic

Papyri Graecae Magicae (PGM) is a name scholars have given to some hundred papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a motley crew of texts related to magic rituals, such as detailed instructions for performance of rituals, spells, and formulae. Some papyri contain whole collections of recipes made by ancient magicians; others provide individual spells and remedies. With one striking exception,[1] they range from the second century BC to the fifth century AD. Most are from the third and fourth century AD. They come from a time when syncretism of various Mediterranean magical traditions, which had started in the first century BC, was already fully established. PGM reflect a broad religious and cultural pluralism.[2] As a corpus, PGM represent a mixture of several religions, or, rather, one syncretistic religion that came into being as a product of the mixture of Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, Jewish, Christian and other religious concepts and influences.

As in other rituals in the ancient world, sacrifice[3] and prayer[4] play an important role in the magical rituals too.[5] Interspersed with instructions for the performing of sacrifices, the creation of sacred space, procurement of ritual equipment and protective charms, obtaining of ritual purity, invocation of divine beings, and prayers, we find some thirty invocations of gods in metre. These texts have been singled out as hymns by the editors of the first collections of papyri.[6] The hymns address various divinities: All gods, Apollo-Helios, Typhon,

1 PGM 40, the so called "Curse of Artemisia" is from the late fourth century BC. See on this text Brashear 1995: 3414.

2 On syncretism of various magical practices as reflected in PGM see Brashear 1995: 3414–3416.

3 On sacrifice in PGM, see Johnston 2002 and now Petrovic 2012 with bibliography.

4 Still fundamental on prayer in PGM is Graf 1991.

5 I cannot provide a discussion of the relationship between magic and religion here; suffice it to note that recent scholarship does not adhere to the view that there should be a strict delineation between the two. See on this Fowler 2000 with bibliography. I agree with his view that "magic does not differ in essence from religion; it differs only in the degree of social approval it enjoys, or does not enjoy" 341. Collins 2008: 1–26 provides an accessible overview of various theoretical approaches to the study of magic.

6 These are also published separately in the second volume of PGM: 237–266. All translations are by Betz 1992 (with slight modifications). I will refer to the hymns according to the numbers provided in this edition.

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Apollo, Hermes, Daphne, Hekate-Selene-Artemis,[7] Persephone, Aphrodite, the Christian god Iao and the angels, even the winds, and personified Anger (Thymos). Featured prominently are also the underworld deities, the demons and spirits of the dead. Notable guest appearances are made by Egyptian deities, such as Isis and Osiris.

Even though PGM on the whole reflect a syncretistic religion, they also contain many sections that are genuinely Greek in origin and character. These passages are so numerous that PGM are also utilized as an important source for the study of Greek popular belief. The hymns also belong to the passages that are mostly Greek in nature. Martin Nilsson remarked that "in the entire corpus of PGM, the hymns are the most Greek parts. My impression is that there must have been an ancient Greek tradition of magical texts, based on genuinely Greek gods. Basic elements of these old, genuinely Greek texts have been taken over and incorporated in the Egyptian texts."[8]

Metrical invocations of the gods in PGM really do bear a close resemblance to Greek hymns. Most are composed in hexameters (22 out of 30). There are several in iambic trimeter,[9] most notably the longest composition in the collection, nr. 17, which addresses Hekate-Selene-Artemis in 103 verses, but most other hymns vary between 15–50 verses. However, as opposed to other Greek hymns, these texts were probably performed only once by a person who purchased the spell; their only audience was the deity invoked, and they were composed to accompany private, sometimes even illicit rituals. The performers could not remind the deities invoked of their past worship-history, because the magic rituals were unique and performed in situations of crisis and specific personal need, and the deities addressed did not feature prominently in the performer's everyday life. The prophetic Apollo-Helios or Artemis-Selene-Hekate are invoked only in extraordinary situations, and those who summoned them had no experience in performing the magical rituals and had to purchase the spell from an expert.

Those Greek hymns that feature narration prominently usually tell a story about the god's first arrival, or about the establishment of an important cult place, as is the case with the *Homeric Hymns*, or about the specific link of the deity to a particular place, as is the case with choral hymns. The hymns which were composed for performance by a single person usually resort to depicting the personal worship-history between the performer and the deity. Conversely,

7 These goddesses often feature as a triad in the PGM. On Hekate-Selene-Artemis in Greek magic, see Petrovic 2007: 4–10.

8 Nilsson 1967: 132 (my translation of the German original).

9 Hymns 6, 8, 17, 19 and 25.

the composers of the PGM hymns avoid narration altogether. They probably avoided the stories about the god's link to a specific cult-place because they wanted their product to be marketable anywhere. In this sense the PGM hymns are truly Pan-Hellenic. The story about the first arrival of the deity was probably avoided because the gods in PGM hymns do bear Greek names, but are not identical with the Apollo, Artemis, or Hekate from the public cults. An attempt is made to produce an amalgamation of several Greek (and some non-Greek) deities, which makes it impossible for the composer of the hymns to resort to well-known myths about one specific Greek deity. Instead of telling a story, the PGM hymns focus on the verbal shaping and creating of multi-faceted divinities, with the effect of fashioning deities that appear as a collective rather than as one distinct and (to a Greek) immediately recognizable divine persona. Furthermore, the composers of the PGM hymns often attempt to link this collective of Greek deities to their counterparts from other Mediterranean religions. The Greek hymns which feature narration prominently start with an all-Greek deity and focus on his/her particular role, often using a myth in order to explain the reason why this divinity is linked to a particular place, or a domain, or a sphere of influence on human life. The PGM hymns avoid narration altogether, and, rather than starting with an all-Greek god and then focusing on a specific detail, they aim to achieve precisely the opposite effect: they start with a collection of Greek divinities, and then broaden the horizon to include gods from other cultures, casting the cletic net as wide as possible. However, what they gain in breadth, they loose in focus and characterization. The long *Homeric Hymns* feature most narration and present divinities with specific characters and personalities, while the PGM hymns, because they resort to broad brush-strokes, feature depersonalized, almost abstract divinities.

The metrical invocations of the gods in PGM are rarely transmitted as stand-alone texts—in fact, only two such texts exist: the aforementioned Hymn 17 to Selene-Hekate-Artemis in 103 iambic trimeters,[10] and Hymn 15–16 to Hermes.[11]

10 This text (PGM 4.2241–2358) is entitled Δέλτος ἀποκρουστικὴν πρὸς Σελήνην. Λόγος ("Document to the waning moon. Spell"). It is transmitted in the long collection of recipes from the fourth century AD (Paris papyrus). Since the text of the hymn is followed by a sub-title "Protective charm for the procedure" (φυλακτήριον τῆς πράξεως) and then the text abruptly breaks off, it is almost certain that some kind of magical πρᾶξις was foreseen to accompany the performance of this spell too.

11 Three versions of this hymn are transmitted in the PGM: 5.400–420 and 7.668–680, where it forms a part of a revelation spell and is transmitted with instructions for ritual actions. In the Strasbourg papyrus PGM 17b, the hymn is transmitted without any context. See on this hymn Graf 1991: 193–194.

All other hymns are transmitted as part of a ritual procedure that consists of ritual actions and words. In this respect, PGM are unique and precious representatives of otherwise rarely transmitted scripts for religious ceremonies. We tend to possess either the texts of the hymns composed for performance at religious festivals or the mostly epigraphically transmitted instructions for ritual *dromena*, which scholars have entitled *leges sacrae* or sacred regulations.[12] PGM provide rare instances of complete depictions of liturgies. Not only are *legomena* transmitted with the *dromena*,[13] but PGM often feature instructions regarding the place, time and mode of performance of the hymn, and even some explanations pertaining to the very nature and role the text played in the ritual.

For instance, in a magical handbook dated to the fourth century AD there is, among other spells, an instruction for a divination ritual (PGM 1.262–347) which contains several hymns to Apollo.[14] The texts of the hymns are interspersed with *voces magicae*[15] and brief statements in prose. This feature makes the division of the text into 5 hymns provided in Preisendanz's edition problematic. In the PGM, the differences between the parts singled out as hymns and the invocation of the gods in prose are often purely formal; i.e. the metrical form of the text is taken to be a distinguishing mark of a hymn. However, it is very likely that the spells transmitted in this papyrus (and other similar instance in PGM) initially featured more metrical parts that were in the course of time corrupted or "translated" into prose. Many parts of the invocations and direct addresses to the gods in PGM read like a hymn in prose,[16] a phenomenon

12 On sacred regulations, Parker 2004 with bibliography.

13 On ritual words (*legomena*) and ritual actions (*dromena*), Henrichs 2003. In the PGM, subtitles of spells often distinguish clearly between ritual action (ποίησις τῆς πράξεως) and ritual words (λόγος).

14 Nos. 4,8,23.

15 *Voces magicae* (magical utterances) are mostly foreign names. The presence of such words and the so-called *Ephesia grammata* (meaningless or near-meaningless strings of syllables) in PGM seems to betray an idea that a special language is needed in order to communicate with the gods. On *voces magicae*, Versnel 2002; on *Ephesia grammata*, Kotansky 1991: 110–112.

16 Prose hymns are attested relatively late in Greek literature. The earliest inscriptionally attested Isis-aretalogies are dated in the Hellenistic period; a series of prose hymns by Aelius Aristides was composed in the 2nd century AD (see in this volume Hodkinson), and Menander Rhetor (3rd century AD) provides an instruction on writing such hymns with a practical example of a hymn to Apollo Smintheus. On prose hymns, see Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 48–49 with bibliography.

that deserves a full treatment separately.[17] For now, let us note that the role of the hymns in the divination procedure is clearly outlined. Under the heading “preparation for the rite,” we read:

> On the first day, (collect) hooves of a sheep; on the second, the hooves of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet come, make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died violently, and light a lamp with pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas (δίωκε τοὺς προκειμένους λόγους), beseeching and exhorting the god to come with good will (ἱκετεύων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰς εὐμένειαν ἥκειν); let your place be cleansed of all pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it is very great and irresistible.[18]

Further complicated preparation for the divination is necessary and is described in detail: a laurel spring must be procured and its leaves inscribed with sacred names, laurel garland for the practitioner to wear during the ritual should be prepared, further sacrifice of a white cock and a pinecone should be performed, as well as a wine libation.[19] The practitioner needs to anoint himself all over with a specially prepared mixture of berries and spices,[20] to purify completely the chamber where the ritual is to be conducted, and to prepare a special lamp. The room turns into a shrine of the god: The doorpost and the door have to be inscribed with strings of letters and divine names, a throne is prepared, purified, and inscribed with the invocation of the god, strings of letters and divine epithets, and upon it, a linen cloth is deposited.[21] In this way, a shrine of the god is prepared, and the divinity is expected to appear and to take its place upon the throne. The practitioner assumes the attributes of the god,

17 Corrupted metre and numerous instances of prose lines interspersed with metrical lines in these texts are the reason why scholars often sideline these hymns. Szepes 1976 concludes that they are more prayers spoken in private than hymns in the sense of religious songs. Graf 1991 treats metrical hymns as prayers (on which see below, p. 258, n. 48). Faraone’s 1997 study of a hymn to Selene-Hekate-Artemis from PGM appeared in a volume on Greek *prayer*. Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 47–48 label them a “distinctly subliterary genre” and do not discuss them further in their excellent study of Greek hymns.

18 PGM 2.143–151.

19 PGM 2.65–75.

20 PGM 2.76–79.

21 PGM 2.150–175.

since he is wearing a laurel wreath on his head and holds a laurel sprig in his hands. He has been purified, is anointed with a mixture of spices and berries and emanates a pleasant odour, just as the Greeks believed the gods did.

After all has been prepared, the practitioner is instructed to go to sleep with his head toward the south. At the time of sunrise, when the moon is in Gemini, the practitioner should perform the following hymn, or rather sequence of hymns:[22]

Τετάρτη κλῆσις[23]
Δάφνη, μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος,
ἧς ποτε γευσάμενος πετάλων ἀνέφηνεν ἀοιδάς,
αὐτός, ἄναξ σκηπτοῦχος, Ἱήιε, κύδιμε Παιάν,
ναίων ἐν Κολοφῶν(ι), **ἱερῆς ἐπάκουσον ἀοιδῆς·**
ἐλθὲ τάχος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν (μοι) ὁμιλῶν
ἀμβροσίων στομάτων τε στατθεὶς ἔμπνευσον ἀοιδάς,
αὐτός, ἄναξ μολπῆς, μόλε, μολπῆς κύδιμ' ἀνάκτωρ·
κλῦθι, μάκαρ, βαρύμηνι, κραταιόφρων, κλύε, Τιτάν,
ἡμετέρης φωνῆς νῦν, ἄφθιτε, μὴ παρακούσηις.
στῆθι (δε), μαντοσύνην (μοι) ἀπ' ἀμβροσίου στομάτοιο
ἔννεπε σῶι ἱκέτηι, πανακήρατε, θᾶττον, Ἄπολλον.

Fourth invocation.[24]
Laurel, Apollo's holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse (with me).
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, lord of song, yourself; renowned
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.

22 Lines 1–35 of hymn 11 correspond to lines 2.81–101, 133–140 and 163–166 of the spell.

23 This note in the margin of the papyrus serves as a sub-title for the hymn.

24 The sub-title betrays the cletic nature of the hymn to follow.

(τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος λέγε· χαιρετισμός)[25]

χαῖρε, πυρὸς ταμία, τηλεσκόπε, κοίρανε κόσμου,
Ἠέλιε κλυτόπωλε, Διὸς γαιήοχον ὄμμα,
παμφαές, ὑψικέλευθε, διιπετές, οὐρανοφοῖτα,
αἰγλήεις, ἀκάκητα, παλαιγενές, ἀστυφέλικτε,
χρυσομίτρη, φαλεροῦχε, πυρισθενές, αἰολοθώρηξ,
πωτήεις, ἀκάμας, χρυσήνιε, χρυσοκέλευθα,
πάντας δ’ εἰσορόων (τε) καὶ ἀμφιθέων καὶ ἀκούων·
σοὶ φλόγες ὠδίνουσι φεραυγέες ἤματος Ὄρθρον,
σοὶ δὲ μεσημβριόωντα πόλον διαμετρήσαντι
Ἀντολίη μετόπισθε ῥοδόσφυρος εἰς ἑὸν οἶκον
ἀχνυμένη στείχει, πρὸ δέ σου Δύσις ἀντεβόλησεν
Ὠκεανῶι κατάγουσα πυριτρεφέων ζυγὰ πώλων·
Νὺξ φυγὰς οὐρανόθεν καταπάλλεται, εὖτ’ ἂν ἀκούσηι
πωλικὸν ἀμφὶ τένοντα δεδουπότα ῥοῖζον ἱμάσθλης·
ααααααα· εεεεεεε· ηηηηηηη· ιιιιιι· οοοοοοο·υυυυυυυ·ωωωωωωω·[26]
Μουσάων σκηπτοῦχε, φερέσβιε, δεῦρό μοι ἤδη,
δεῦρο τάχος δ’ ἐπὶ γαῖαν, Ἰήιε κισσεοχαῖτα.
μολπὴν ἔννεπε, Φοῖβε, δι’ ἀμβροσίου στομάτοιο,
χαῖρε, πυρὸς μεδέων, ἀραραχχαρα ἠφθισικηρε,
καὶ Μοῖραι τρισσαί, Κλωθώ τ’ Ἄτροπος Λάχεσίς[27] τε.
σὲ καλέω, (σὲ) μέγαν, τὸν ἐν οὐρανῶι ἀειροειδῆ,
σὲ καλέω θεὸν αὐτεξούσιον, ὧι ὑπετάχθη
πᾶσα φύσις. (σὺ) κατοικεῖς …

(speak while the sun is rising, Greeting formula)
Hail, fire’s dispenser, world’s far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,
Who move through the heaven, bright, unattainable,
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband

25 Prose instruction, not included in the edition of the hymn, but extant in the edition of the entire spell text (PGM 2.88). The papyrus reads χαῖρε, which Preisendanz understood as abbreviation of χαιρετισμός (greeting formula). On χαιρετισμός, see Baumstark 1954. This part of the hymn assumes that the god had arrived and greets him.

26 Strings of letters not included in Preisendanz’ edition of the hymn, *PGM* 2.98–99.

27 Preisendanz corrected τε Λαχις τε in the original text.

Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring,
With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes,
Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds,
Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
From heav'n, whene' er she hears the crack of whip
That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ IIIIII OOOOOOO YYYYYYY
ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ[28]
O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
To earth, Ieios, hair wreathed with ivy.
And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
To song. Hail fire's guard, ARARACHCHARA
ĒPTHTHISKĒRE, and hail, Moirai three,
Klotho and Atropos and Lachis too.
I call you, who are great in heav'n, airlike,
Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves,
Who dwells …

In the middle of the sentence, hexameter dissolves. Now follows an equally elaborate prose invocation of the god. Whereas the previous part is essentially Greek in nature and depicts Apollo as we know him from other Greek texts and images, first as the prophetic and musical god, and then as assimilated with Helios, the prose part of the invocation reflects Egyptian ideas, such as that the sun god resembles a child sitting upon the lotus enlightening the world, or that he takes various shapes hour after hour.[29] Lines 102–140 are in prose, but the content is hymnic in nature. As we shall see briefly, the composer of the spell obviously also understood them as part of the hymn. Parts of this spell have been rather fancifully restored into irregular hexameters by Preisendanz. Since his text of the hymn diverges significantly from the transmitted text of the spell,

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28 Strings of letters not included in Preisendanz' edition of the hymn, *PGM* 2.98–99.

29 See on this commentary in Betz 1992: 16 with bibliography.

I provide both a transcription in prose (part A) as well as Preisendanz's attempt at restitution of the metrical parts (Part B). In the edition of the Hymn, vv. 35 ff. seamlessly follow the previous part, even though they are separated by 30 lines of prose in the original spell.

Part A

PGM 2.102–142

πᾶσα φύσις, ὃς κατοικεῖς τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην, (ὃν) δορυφοροῦσιν οἱ δ[ε]καὲξ γίγαντες, ἐπὶ λωτῶι καθήμενος καὶ λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην· ὁ καταδείξας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶα· σὺ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρνεον ἔχεις ἐν τῆι στολῆι ἐν τ[οῖς π]ρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσιν τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, ὥσ[περ ἔ]χεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρεσι μορφὴν νηπίου παιδὸς ἐπὶ λωτῶι καθημένου, ἀντολεῦ, πολυώνυμε, σενσενγεν· βαρφαραγγης· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς νότον μέρεσι μορφὴν ἔχεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱέρακος, δι' ἧς πέμπεις τὴν εἰς ἀέρα πύρωοσιν, τὴν γινομένην λερθεξ αναξ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς λίβα μέρεσι μορφὴν ἔχεις κορκοδείλου, οὐρὰν ὄφεως, ἔνθεν ἀφίων ὑετοὺς καὶ χιόνας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσι δράκοντα ἔχεις πτεροφυῆ, βασίλειον ἔχων ἀεροειδῆι, ὧι κα[τα]κρατεῖς τοὺς ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐ⟨ρ⟩ισμούς· θεὸς γὰρ ἐφάνης τῆι ἀληθείαι ιω· ιω Ἐρβηθ· Ζάς, Σαβαώθ· σμαρθ Ἀδωναΐ· σουμαρτα ϊαλου· βαβλα· υαμμοληενθιω· πετοτουβιηθ· ιαρμιωθ· λαιλαμψ· χωουχ· Ἀρσενοφρη· ηυ Φθᾶ ηωλι· κλῦθι μοι, μέγιστε θεὲ Κόμμης, τὴν ἡμέραν φωτίζων, ναθμαμεωθ· ὁ νήπιος ἀνατέλλων μαϊραχαχθα· ὁ τὸν πόλον δι[οδ]εύων θαρχαχαχαν· ὁ ἑαυτῶι συνγινόμενος καὶ δυ[ν]αμούμενος, προσαυξητὰ καὶ πολύφωτε, κτίστα σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης ὑδάτων, φέριστε θεὲ Κόμμη, Κόμμη ϊασφη· ϊασφη· βιβιου· βιβιου· νουσι· νουσι· σιεθων· σιεθων· Ἀρσαμωσι· Ἀρσαμωσι· νουχα· νουχα· η· ηι· ομβριθαμ· βριθιαωθ· αβεραμεν θωουθ λερθεξ αναξ· εθρελουωθ· νεμαρεβα, ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς θεός· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ δεῖνα, ὅστις σοι ἀπήντησα, καὶ δῶρόν μοι ἐδωρήσω τὴν τοῦ μεγίστου σου ὀνόματος γηῶσιν, οὗ ἡ ψῆφος θ ϡ Ϟ θ'[30]· ιη· ιε· ια· ιαη· ιαε· ιευ· ιηα· ιωα· ιευ· ιηι· ηια· εα· εη· ηε· ωη· ηω· εηε· εεη· ηεε· ααω· ωεα·εαω·ωι·ωε·ηω·εη· εαε· ιιι· οοο· υυυ· ωωω· ιυ· ευ· ου· ηεα· ιηεα· εαε· εια· ιαιε· ιηα· ιου· ιωε· ιου· ϊη· ϊη· ϊηϊε[31] Παιάν, Κολοφώνιε Φοῖβε,

30 Preisendanz notes that the numeric equivalents of the vocals following the number do not add up to 9999.

31 The sequence of vocals may look like random gibberish, but it starts and ends with a common and ubiquitous Greek invocation of Apollo Paean (ἰη or ἰήϊε). Ancient Greeks had their fair share of epithets and invocations of the gods with unclear meaning. Repeated cries (epiphthegmata) such as ἰὴ παιάν in a paian or Ἴακχ' ὦ Ἴακχε in the procession of

Παρνήσσιε Φοῖβε, Καστάλιε Φοῖβε, ιηα· ιη· ιω· ιυ· ιε· ιωα· ιηα· ευα· ωεα· ευηα· ωευα· ευωα· ευιε· ευιαε· ευε· ευη· ευιε· ευω· ϊευαε· ευηαε· ὑμνωσω Μέντορι Φοίβωι αρεωθ· ιαεωθ· ιωα· ιωηα· αε· οωε· αηω· ωηα· ηωα· αηε· ιε· ιω· ιωιω· ιεα· ιαη· ιεου· εουω· αα[·] αηω· εε· εηυ· ηη· εηα· χαβραχ φλιες κηρφι νυρω φωχω βωχ· σὲ καλῶ, Κλάριε Ἄπολλον, εηυ· Καστάλιε· αηα· Πύθιε· ωαε· Μουσῶν Ἄπολλον ιεω·ωεϊ.

All nature. You who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world, you (whose) bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and who light up the whole inhabited world, you who have designated the various living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird upon your robe in the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the figure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEAXANAX, in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east you have the form of a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself as god in truth, IŌ IŌ ERBĒTH, ZAS SABAŌTH SMARTH ADŌNAI SOUMARTA IALOU BABLA YAM MOLĒENTHIŌ PETOTOUBIĒTH IARMIŌTH LAILAMPS CHŌOUCH ARSENOPHRĒ EU PHTHA ĒŌLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the day, NATHMAMEŌTH; you who rise as an infant, MAIRACHACHTHA; you who traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU, you who unite with yourself and endow yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator of many things, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommes, Kommes, IASPHĒ, IASPHĒ, BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI, ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELUŌTHNEMAREBA, the

Eleusinian mystai are well-known examples. Some voces magicae are corrupted Greek words, some are obviously non-Greek names, but I wonder whether vocal sequences like these are meant to reproduce music, which was an important part of hymnic performance in Greek cult. It would be in keeping with Apollo's nature as god of prophecy and music that his name is music itself. This would also be compatible with the idea expressed in Hymn 1 to All Gods (see below, p. 259) and with the Greek belief that the Muses perpetually hymn the gods.

most great and mighty god. I am he, NN, who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of your most great name, of which the number is 9.999: IĒ IE IA IAĒ IAE IEY IĒA IŌA IEY IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EEĒ ĒEE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO YYY ŌŌŌ IY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE IĒA IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒ IE Paian, Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia, IĒEA IĒ IŌ IY IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYIE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ ŌĒA ĒŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IEA IAĒ IEOY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH … I summon you, Apollo of Klaros, EĒY, Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian ŌAE, Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI.

Part B

Preisendanz ignores the prose lines and vowel sequences in the edition of Hymn 11 and attempts to restore ll. 132–144 in dactylic hexameter as follows:

κλῦθί μοι, [Ἄπολλον], Παιὰν Κολοφώνιε Φοῖβε,
κλῦθί μοι, Ἄπολλον, Παιὰν] Παρνήσσιε Φοῖβε,
κλῦθί μοι, Ἄπολλον, Παιὰν] Κασtάλιε Φοῖβε,
(…) ὑμνήσω **Μέντορι Φοίβῶι**
σε καλέω, Κασtάλιε, Πύθιε, Κλάρι(ε) Ἄπολλον.

The following part, which is reproduced as the end of Hymn 11 in Preisendanz is *stricto sensu* not part of the ritual utterances for this spell. It is an inscription which the practitioner is supposed to write on the underside of the throne that serves as one of the implements for this magical practice:[32]

ἰη Δαμναμενεὺς αβραη αβραω αβραωα
(…) δέσποτα Μουσῶν
ἵλαθί μοι, τῶι σῶι ἱκέτηι, τ' εὐίλαος ἔσσο
εὐμενέτης τε φάνηθι ἐμοὶ καθαρῶι (τε) προσώπωι.[33]

32 This part of the spell is clearly separated from the *legomena* and bears a sub-title: *What is to be written is as follows* (PGM 2.155: ἐστι δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα). It contains instructions for drawing pictures and words on the doorpost of the chamber, and on a piece of cloth that is to be burned in the lamp and on the throne (PGM 2.165–175).

33 PGM 2.165–167.

> IĒ IEA IOAY DAMNAMENEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA;
> lord of the Muses,
> be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevolent and merciful;
> appear to me with pure countenance.

What justification do we have for classifying such texts in the category of Greek hymns? First of all, this text is quite clearly calling itself *a sacred song* (v. 4: ἱερῆς ἐπάκουσον ἀοιδῆς) and the performance of the text is signified as *hymning* (v. 38: ὑμνήσω Μέντορι Φοίβῳι). Future tense is not an obstacle here, since referring to the performance of a song in the future tense is common in Greek poetry. This phenomenon has been labelled "performative future"[34]—and can also be found in Theocritus' depiction of a magic practice. Theocritus portrays a young girl, Simaetha, who is casting a spell on her unfaithful lover and is performing a hymn to Hekate–Selene–Artemis.[35] In the course of the magic ritual, Simaetha refers to her action as follows: νῦν μὲν τοῖς φίλτροις **καταδήσομαι**. "Now I will bind him with spells" (*v*. 159). Christopher Faraone has argued persuasively that the performative future is typical for ritual, especially magical language, and that it refers not to future, but to present actions.[36]

Clearly, then, this text casts itself as performing the function of a hymn. However, it does not distinguish between prose and metrical parts. The entire ritual speech is signified as λόγοι that one utters "while beseeching and calling the god to come in good will" (ἱκετεύων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰς εὐμένειαν ἥκειν).[37] In the margin of the papyrus, preceding the hymn, is the note: τετάρτη κλῆσις[38]—*fourth invocation*. This further qualifies the part consisting of vv. 1–11 as a cletic hymn. Verses 12–33 are meant to serve as a greeting to the god once he has appeared. The sunrise is understood as epiphany, and as a confirmation of the power of the hymn to summon a god. Once Apollo-Helios has made an epiphany, the practitioner greets him with a string of epithets (vv. 12–17), and then proceeds to praise his powers and to make a request. This corresponds to the usual parts of Greek hymns.[39] A further instance of the characterization of the whole ritual is to be found at the end, when instructions are given to the practitioner how to release the god, once he has appeared in order to give a prophecy:

34 Henrichs 1995.
35 On the magical hymn in Theocritus, Id. 2, see Petrovic 2004.
36 1995.
37 PGM 2.147–148.
38 PGM 2.81.
39 See also below, pp. 257–258.

> μαθὼν δὲ ἅπαντα ἀπολύσεις δοξοποιήσας ἀξίως.[40]
>
> After you have learned everything, you will release him, having done honor to him in a worthy manner.[41]

Both the action and ritual words are perceived as honoring the deity in a worthy manner. We can thus conclude that the composer of the magical ritual did perceive of the spoken part as a hymn. But did the ancient Greek readers/ performers also think of it as hymn? They probably did. This address to Apollo clearly complies with ancient Greek definitions of a hymn. Some typical definitions and para-etymologies of Greek hymns are:

> ὕμνος· παρὰ τὸ ὑμένω τὸ ὑπομένω, ὑπόμονός τις ὤν, καὶ ἐν συγκοπῆι ὕμνος, καθὸ εἰς ὑπομονὴν καὶ πρᾶξιν ἄγειν τὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀκοάς, καὶ ἀρετάς. ὕμνος· ἔστιν ὁ μετά προσκυνήσεως καὶ εὐχῆς κεκραμένης ἐπαίνωι λόγος εἰς θεόν.[42]
>
> Hymn comes from “remain,” being something which “remains” because it draws the words of praise and the virtues into a durable form. Hymn: a discourse in the form of adoration, with prayer conjoined with praise, addressed to a god.

Significantly, ancient definitions not only described the hymn as drawing the deeds and powers of the gods in durable form, they also establish a firm link between the prayer and the hymn. In modern scholarship, attempts have been made to differentiate between hymn and prayer by using metre as the distinguishing characteristic of a hymn.[43] However, this view is by now largely abandoned. There is no reason to classify the prose parts of the invocation as prayers, and the metrical as hymns, purely on the basis of their form. We have ancient Greek hymns in prose, which seem to have flourished in the time of the Second Sophistic, roughly contemporary with some PGM texts. The ancient critics and lexicographers did not see the metrical form as a necessary constituent of a hymn.

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40 PGM 2.176.

41 My translation.

42 Etymologicum Gudianum 540.38–40 Sturz. On the ancient etymologies of the word ὕμνος see Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 8–14.

43 For an overview of scholarship on the distinction between hymn and prayer, Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 2–4. Cf. in this volume the Introduction pp. 7–12.

Some scholars classify even the metrical addresses to the gods in PGM as prayers.[44] Indeed, the boundaries between prayer and hymn are often blurred, mostly because a prayer is a constituent and often the central part of a hymn. The ancient definitions of hymn are also keen to stress this: *Hymn is a discourse in the form of adoration, with prayer conjoined with praise, addressed to a god.* When we consider the functional role of the hymn as a part of ancient Greek religious rituals, it quickly becomes clear that the prayer is at its very heart. It is one of the essential parts of the hymn, together with the invocation and praise. It can be claimed that the prayer is the point of the whole hymn,[45] and this renders distinguishing between the two difficult. Sometimes hymns are called εὐχαί as a *pars pro toto*. In the PGM, terms such as ἐπωιδή and εὐχή can be used interchangeably.[46] However, hymns and prayers have similar purpose, but not identical function. A hymn is in itself a gift for the deity, whereas a prayer communicates a request to the deity. A hymn functions on a *do ut des* principle, whereas one can make a promise of a gift for the divinity in a prayer, but the prayer itself is not a gift.

The formal features convey the hymn's role in the ritual and its purpose. For instance, in public rituals, by performing a hymn on the way to the altar and around it, the worshippers aimed to attract the attention of the deity and incite her/him to come and accept the offering. Thus the basic structure of most hymns consists of an invocation, followed by either a *pars epica* or an *aretologia* (aretalogy), followed by a request.[47] The invocation addresses the god by name and epithets and narrates her/his origin (genealogy) and favorite cult places. This pattern is clearly recognizable in the examples quoted above, even though the text is not meant for public performance. What really matters are not the external categories, such as the performative mode or the setting, but the relationship the text establishes with the internal audience—the gods. In the Hymn to Apollo, the first constituent of the hymn, an invocation, is clearly present: his favorite cult places and epithets are mentioned at the beginning of the hymn (Paian and Kolophon), and then he is invoked to come and assist the practitioner.

The second part of the hymn usually illustrates the god's powers either by narrating a myth (*pars epica*) or by listing his benefactions (aretalogy)—usually this part celebrated the god's first coming or narrated a story about the founding of a cult place or some other central myth. In the invocation of Apollo,

44 See note 17.

45 Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 52–63 with bibliography.

46 Graf 1991: 189.

47 On hymnic structure, Furley and Bremer 2001: 1. 52–63 with bibliography.

the legend of the origin of Apollo's prophetic power is briefly mentioned in ll. 1–2. He is praised as the origin of every song, which means that he can help the practitioner in his own chanting as well (l. 5). However, the narrative aspect is reduced to a bare minimum and compressed to a couplet because the Apolline aspect of the deity invoked will soon give way to the depiction of the god as the all-seeing Sun. An extensive and detailed narrative about Apollo as an oracular deity would tip the balance in favour of imagining the invoked god as Apollo. By avoiding narration, the composer of the hymn creates a multi-faceted divinity.

Finally, after the god has been reminded of his powers and spheres of influence, the request is made (*precatio*). This request is expressed in lines 10–12 of the hymn. We can thus conclude that the prayer is a constituent part of a PGM hymn too. As indicated above, what differentiates a hymn from a prayer is that the hymn is also an *agalma*, a gift for the god meant to please the divinity, and the prayer is not.[48] A hymn is a gift of words, be it in prose or in metre. This is precisely the purpose of our Hymn 11 as outlined under the heading "preparation for the rite": "recite the prescribed formulas (δίωκε τοὺς προκειμένους λόγους), beseeching and exhorting the god to come with good will (PGM 2.146–147 ἱκετεύων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰς εὐμένειαν ἥκειν)."

The purpose of the hymn as laid out in this passage is to incite the god to come and to please him, which is in keeping with what we know of the purpose of other Greek hymns performed as part of public rituals. One can beseech the god in the prayer, too, but rendering a divinity favorable, creating a χάρις-filled relationship with the divine, is the task of a hymn. It is the pleasing combination of divine epithets and achievements composed in a carefully formed, elevated language that was meant to render the god favorable. The divinity will be pleased by the hymn and will arrive well-disposed (εἰς εὐμένειαν

48 It is often difficult to distinguish clearly between hymn and prayer. Both address the gods directly and in favorable terms and tend to contain requests. However, a hymn tends to contain more elaborate praising and to pay more attention to poetic embellishment. Recent scholarship propagates the idea that the main distinction between the two is that a hymn was intended to be an *agalma* (delight, gift) for the gods, and a prayer was not. In this respect Race 1982 compared hymns with other gifts to the gods such as animal sacrifice and the material dedications in the sanctuaries. Pulleyn 1997: 49 has argued that the hymn was "clearly seen as a gift or offering, an ἄγαλμα for the god," providing numerous persuasive ancient testimonies to this idea. Depew 2000: 63–64 posited that it is precisely this functioning as an offering that unifies the texts we call cultic hymns with the texts such as the *Homeric Hymns* into a genre of Greek hymn. In Petrovic 2012a I have argued that, just as there were distinctions in Greek cult between private and communal sacrifice, distinctions can be made between hymns performed on behalf of the community and those performed on behalf of the individual.

ἥκειν). This and other similar passages in the PGM hymns demonstrate that these incantations were intended to be an *agalma* (delight, gift) for the gods.

So, for instance, in Hymn 1 = PGM 12.244–252, Hymn to All Gods (part of the ritual for making a protective, all-powerful ring), the invocation of All Gods immediately preceding the hymn in hexameter is thus formulated (237–238): ἔλθατέ μοι συνεργοί, ὅτι μέλλω ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ κρυπτὸν καὶ ἄρρητον ὄνομα, τὸν προπάτορα θεῶν, πάντων ἔποπτην καὶ κύριον. "I beseech you, come as my helpers, for I am about to call on the hidden and ineffable name, the forefather of the gods, overseer and lord of all." The first 4 lines of the hymn begin with τίς ("who?"), stressing the importance of the divine name. It functions as a revelation. That this name is communicated by means of a hymn is confirmed in a text following the hexameter part, where it is said that the angels "hymn the glorious name of the god (οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἔνδοξον οἱ ἄγγελοι ὑμνοῦσιν) in the eternal dancing place (ἀένναον κωμαστήριον)."[49]

Illustrative of this principle is also the Hymn to All Gods (23 = PGM I, 297–311). The hymn in 14 hexameter lines invokes Apollo and other gods for the purposes of divination and is a part of the spell called Apollonian Invocation (PGM 1.262–347). After the text of the hymn, the prose part clearly explains the nature and purpose of the hymn and the significance of the divine names in it (PGM 1.312 f.):

> ὁρκίζω τὰ ἅγια καὶ θεῖα ὀνόματα ταῦτα, ὅπως ἂν πέμψωσί μοι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καὶ τελέσηι, ἃ ἔχω κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν.
>
> I adjure these holy and divine names that they send me the divine spirit and that it fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.

The knowledge of a god's names and the performance of these names is repeatedly mentioned as the fundamental source of joy for the gods in the PGM, and the source of power for the practitioner.[50]

Very significant exceptions are the aforementioned Hymn 17 (PGM 4.2241–2358)[51] and hymn 19 (PGM 4.2574–2610 and 2643–2674).[52] Both are invocations of Selene-Hekate-Artemis in iambic trimeters, and are in my opinion decidedly

49 PGM 12.257 and 252.

50 Further examples are: PGM 3.500 ff.; PGM 4.947–948; PGM 5.205–206; PGM 4.2851; PGM 4.2561; On the role of divine names in PGM see also Graf 1991: 191–194; on the role of names in Greek hymns in general, see Calame 2011 with bibliography.

51 See note 10.

52 Hymn 19 in Preisendanz' edition appears as part of two different charms.

not hymns. Hymn 17 refers to itself as a χιερὸς λόγος (4), but is in effect an anti-hymn, inasmuch as it attempts to make the goddess arrive angry and violent by narrating a slander. Hymn 19 is distinguished from other hymns, which are usually labeled as λόγος in the PGM, since it is introduced as ἐπάναγκος λόγος ("compulsion," 4.2574) and is quoted as part of the διαβολή ("slander" 4.2622–2707). In both texts the practitioner's enemies are quoted as saying shockingly insulting things about the goddess, and it is also claimed that they have performed a horribly wrong, insulting sacrifice. The goddess should become angry having heard these things, and arrive in order to punish the wrongdoer. This is precisely the opposite of what a typical hymn does. Since it is an anti-hymn, it provides precious information about what practitioners actually thought important in a proper hymn. It is relevant to note that the practitioner also presents him/herself as forcing the goddess to perform the deed, not asking or imploring. The knowledge of divine names and nature is used not in order to please the divinity, but in order to compel her to perform the deed (cf. Hymn 17, 99–101: οἷον λέγω σοι, εἴσβαλ' εἰς τοῦτον κακόν / ὅτι οἶδά σου τὰ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, Κόρη / ὀνόματα σεμνά. "As I instruct you, hurl him to this ill, because, Kore, I know your good and great majestic names.") Here we also see that not every metrical address of the god is a hymn, as indeed an address of the god need not be metrical in order to be a hymn. Once again, what matters most is whether a text is meant to be an ἄγαλμα for the god or not.

Having established that the hymns in PGM function as ἀγάλματα, delightful gifts for the gods, we can proceed to ask the question: what kind of ἀγάλματα do they represent? I propose that they are in this respect similar to rhapsodic hymns, since they are akin to private, not communal offerings.

Rhapsodic hymns are distinct from choral hymns, which are often known as "cult hymns," in that they do not tend to address the gods on behalf of the whole community. The best-known hymns of this genre are the *Homeric Hymns*, a collection of thirty-three poems of varying length and date.

The *Homeric Hymns* share a common narrative structure. They open with a formulaic statement—I sing/I remember—followed by a name of the god, or by an invocation of the Muse to sing a song about a certain god. A myth about a god follows. This part of the hymn is in the third person, except in the *Hymn to Apollo*, which is composed in a mixture of second-person and third-person narration. The hymn usually ends with an address to the god in the second person. Apart from the *Hymn to Apollo*, the narrative technique of the *Homeric Hymns* is similar to the epic.[53]

53 See now Faulkner 2011a for an excellent overview of scholarship on the *Homeric Hymns*.

The long *Homeric Hymns* all intimate a special relationship of the rhapsode with the god,[54] and a privileged knowledge of a sacred, important story. The end of the *Hymn to Demeter* suggests that the rhapsode is initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries;[55] the *Hymn to Aphrodite* reveals the details of her shameful and secretive union with the mortal;[56] Hermes' secretive birth and his first theft is told in illuminating detail in the *Hymn to Hermes*; the singer of the *Hymn to Apollo* proclaims himself to be the best, implying that he is most similar to the god himself and his favourite.[57] In the mid-sized *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7), the story of the metamorphoses of the hybristic pirates into dolphins is partly focalized through the eyes of the only pirate who is saved and proclaimed a special favourite of the god.

In this respect, the *Homeric Hymns* are similar to Demodocus' story about the affair of Aphrodite with Ares in the *Odyssey*.[58] Scholars have often remarked on the similarity of the setting and the topic of Demodocus' story about Ares and Aphrodite with the *Homeric Hymns*,[59] but the character of the story is significant too. Demodocus' tale intimates the rhapsode's knowledge of a secret story and implies that he is especially close to the gods.[60] This closeness to the gods and the knowledge of their secret names and forms is, as we have seen above, something the hymns from PGM also claim.[61]

The fundamental difference between the transmitted cult hymns and the Homeric and PGM hymns is that a cult hymn creates a χάρις-filled relationship between the community and the god(s), whereas the PGM and Homeric hymns—being composed to be performed by one person—create such a relationship between *one person*, the rhapsodic performer or the practitioner of

54 See Calame 2011 with bibliography.

55 *Dem.* 477–483.

56 *Aphr.* 281–290: Aphrodite is keen for Anchises to keep the identity of Aeneas' mother secret.

57 *Apoll.* 165–178.

58 *The Odyssey* 8. 266–366.

59 On thematic and contextual similarities of Demodocus' song on Aphrodite and Ares with the *Homeric Hymns*, especially with the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, see recently Faulkner 2012b with earlier bibliography.

60 The singer knows all the salacious details of the meeting which was conducted *in secret* (8.269), seen only by Helios (8.302). Even the spectacle of the lovers ensnared in Hephaestus' web, seen by male gods, was too shameful for the female goddesses to observe (8.324).

61 Graf 1991: 192 argues that this special relationship which some hymns establish with the divine on the basis of privileged, secretive knowledge renders them similar to mystery rituals. This is a valid point, but it can be taken further to include other hymns which function as private offerings, such as the rhapsodic hymns.

magic, and the god(s). The requests in the closing parts of some *Homeric Hymns* testify to this: "Help *me* win this contest,"[62] or: "Give *me* (sweet) song."[63] The closing formula typical of the *Homeric Hymns* σὺ (μὲν οὕτω) χαῖρε … αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς ("you rejoice (in this), and I will remember you and also another song") resembles the inscriptions on private dedications which invite the divinity to accept the gift in good cheer and promise more to come in the future. What sets this demand apart from the prayers in the choral cult hymns is the individual relationship forged between one performer and the divinity, not between the whole community and the divinity.[64]

Cult hymns pray for blessings and divine favors on behalf of the community of worshippers. Even poets as self-conscious as Pindar were careful to point out that they are intermediaries between the community and the deity.[65] In the paean he composed for the Abderites, for instance, Pindar presents himself as a charioteer of the song, but the paean is composed on behalf of the Ionians:

Ναΐδ]ος Θρονίας Ἄβδηρε χαλκοθώραξ
Ποσ]ειδᾶνός τε παῖ,
σέθ]εν Ἰάονι τόνδε λαῷ

62 Cf. *Aphr*. 6. 19 f.

63 Cf. *Aphr*. 10. 5; *Hy*. 24. 5; *Mus*. 25. 6. The singer might decide to include the city in the closing prayer, but this is a startling exception in the corpus of *Homeric Hymns*: out of 33 transmitted hymns, such a request occurs in only one hymn (To Demeter): 13.3: Χαῖρε θεὰ καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν, ἄρχε δ' ἀοιδῆς. Why, we might ask, are the closing requests so strikingly personal in all other *Homeric Hymns*?

64 I have argued this point at length in Petrovic 2012a and 2012b. My view is similar to Calame (for a summary of his views on the *Homeric Hymns* as poetic offerings, see Calame 2011). Like Calame, I also argue that the *Homeric Hymns* present themselves as poetic offerings for the gods. He, however, argues that the singer, even though he forges a close relationship with the gods, always represents the community, even in the cases when the prayer at the closing of the hymn regards the singer only (see examples in footnotes 60 and 61). Calame 2011 argues that the distinctive trait of the final sequence in the *Homeric Hymns* is to "establish a contract between the *persona cantans* (including those for whom he is the spokesperson) and the divinity evoked, then invoked" (355) and concludes 2011: 357: "understood in a generic manner as a song, the *Homeric Hymn* is an offering made by mortals to a god, which leads into another offering, itself also poetic. In this ritual play of gift and counter-gift, the *Homeric Hymn* establishes between the god and a community of mortals a poetic contract concerning the performance of the song as a ritual sacrifice."

65 I sum up the arguments presented in Petrovic 2012b.

παι]ᾶνα [δι]ώξω
Δηρηνὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πάρ τ' Ἀφρο[δίταν[66]

Abderos of the bronze breastplate,
Son of the Naiad Thronia and Poseidon,
Beginning with you I shall set in motion
This paean **for the Ionian people**
To Apollo Derenios and Aphrodite.[67]

The refrain of this paean is obviously not a prayer for Pindar only, or only for the performers of the hymn, but a prayer uttered in a time of need and relevant to all Abderites as Ionians (fr. 52b35–36 = 71–72 = 107–108):

ἰὴ ἰὲ Παιάν, ἰὴ ἰέ· Παιὰν
δὲ μήποτε λείποι.

Iē, ie, Paian, iē ie. May Paian
never leave (us).[68]

The citizens of Abdera were at the time fighting the Thracians.[69] At the end of the paean, Pindar invokes the legendary hero Abderos again before repeating the refrain for the final time, and it is made perfectly clear that the prayer of this hymn should benefit all citizens (fr. 52b104–108):

Ἄβδ]ηρε, καὶ στ[ρατὸν] ἱ̣ππ̣οχάρμαν
σᾷ̣] β̣ί̣ᾳ̣ πολέ[μ]ῳ̣ τελευ-
ταί]ῳ̣ προβι[β]άζοις.
ἰὴ ἰὲ Παιάν, ἰὴ ἰέ· Παιὰν
δὲ μήποτε λείποι.

Abderos, and in your might may you lead forth
The army that delights in horses
for a final war.
Iē, ie, Paian, iē ie. May Paian
Never leave (us).[70]

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66 Fr. 52b, 1–5 Maehler 1975.
67 Translation: Race 1997.
68 My brackets.
69 On references to Abderite history in this paean, see Rutherford 2001: 262–275.
70 Translation: Race 1997, slightly modified.

It is quite hard to imagine Pindar taking part in this war against the Thracians and fighting under the spiritual guidance of Abderos. The prayer is for the local community only.

Not only Pindar's, but all Greek cultic hymns were replete with comparable statements, as the performers were eager to stress that they are singing on behalf of the whole city. Moreover, the cult hymns proper formed an integral part of the ritual ceremony and involved the whole community, some members of it as performers and others as observers of the performance. However, in the case of the *Homeric Hymns* and those hymns in PGM, the song is a personal gift to the gods.

In the case of rhapsodic hymns, the local audience plays a more passive role than that of a choral hymn. Instead of representing a community in its communication with the god, the rhapsode of a *Homeric Hymn* represents himself. He also shapes his persona to correspond to the divinity sung,[71] and presents his material as a result of a special, privileged knowledge.

In the case of PGM hymns, there is no external audience. The relationship is a direct one between the practitioner and the invoked deity, who is the internal audience of the hymn. The text of the PGM hymns also represents the performer as possessing special knowledge. However, since PGM hymns avoid narration in order to create a conglomerate of divinities, it is not knowledge of a sacred story that the performers claim. The composers of the PGM hymns focus on the knowledge of various divine names and manifold manifestations of the deities hymned. By telling Apollo-Helios about the various shapes he assumes as the sun traversing the sky, as Apollo, leader of the Muses and the prophetic god of Delphi, or as the Egyptian sun-god in the form of the child sitting on a lotus, and by providing a plethora of Greek and foreign names of the divinity, the practitioner demonstrates his excellent knowledge of the divinity in all its manifestations and forges a close connection with him. The purpose of the hymn is to invoke the god in his guise as a prophet who will reward the song of the practitioner with his own prophetic song (Hymn 11.7–9; 31–34):

> Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
> My songs; come, lord of song, yourself; renowned
> Ruler of song. (…)
> Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
> To earth, Ieios, hair wreathed with ivy.
> And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
> To song.

71 Calame 2011.

The knowledge of the divine names and manifestations will be rewarded by the gift of prophecy, and the *do ut des* relationship is firmly established.

The narration in PGM hymns is reduced to the most essential information about the divine being, divine names, and brief mentions of events, which have an immediate relevance to the situation of the practitioner. Again, the comparison with the rhapsodic hymns is instructive. The long rhapsodic hymns tell a significant story about the deity at length and in detail. However, rhapsodic hymns could be reduced to a mere 4–6 lines if the singer wished to start his performance with an invocation of a divinity, and then go on and recite other, maybe epic, passages at length. In such cases, narration is omitted, and a mere description of the god's parentage, their activities in the present tense and a string of divinity's most popular and widely-known epithets suffice. Based on the difference between the structure of the long and the short *Homeric Hymns*, Richard Janko (1981) called the long hymns "mythic," since they consist mostly of a narrative in the past tense, and the short hymns "attributive," since they describe the deities in the present tense in terms of their attributes, such as appearance, possessions, haunts, and spheres of activity.

The hymns in PGM are similar to the attributive *Homeric Hymns*, since they do not elaborate on individual stories and the practitioner is not interested in narrating at length. The stories about divine exploits in PGM hymns are often reduced to a string of epithets, but the epithets are carefully chosen to represent those characteristics of the god that were particularly important for the kind of spell one wished to perform. When divine activities are represented, they are often in the present tense, like in the attributive *Homeric Hymns*.

Like the rhapsodic hymns, the PGM hymns were composed in order to be performed by anyone anywhere. Their goal was to invoke a conglomerate deity in order to perform a specific function. The example of a divination spell to Apollo-Helios, which contains the hymns quoted in this paper, illustrates this point well.

In the case of this divination spell, the god is represented as a prophet and all-seeing Sun. Every part of the hymn shapes a specific characteristic of the god who ought to appear and deliver a prophecy. It starts with an invocation of personified laurel, and depicts the laurel's connection to prophecy (1–2). Here the precious information about the ritual *dromena* helps us to connect the appearance and the ritual actions of the practitioner with the words of his hymns. Since the practitioner wore a laurel wreath and procured a laurel sprig and inscribed it with sacred names, the laurel serves as a point of connection between him and the mantic Apollo he is invoking. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, the shaking of the laurel branch is interpreted as a sign of impending

divine epiphany.[72] Perhaps the practitioner was also supposed to wave the branch he had in his hands, imitating an epiphanic sign.

The god is described as giver of oracles (1) and a specific, healing song (3: Paian). He is also described as "inhabitant of Kolophon" (4), which is important because it was in the territory of Kolophon that one of Apollo's most important oracular centers, Claros, was situated. The god is then described as assistant of singers and inspirer of song (6–7), and the practitioner closes the first invocation by requesting a prophetic song from the god (10–12). The narration is reduced to the very minimum; often it is simply a mention of a characteristic or a particular cult center that is important for the goal of the magic practice. The god is also described as "all pure" (11). The preparation rituals pay special attention to the purifying of the chamber where the practice will be performed, and to the purification of the practitioner.[73] Not only in his appearance (decorated with laurel and holding a branch in his hands), but also in respect to ritual actions (performance of poetry) and ritual purity, the practitioner resembles the god he invokes.

In the second part of the hymn, which is a greeting of the god as he appears in the shape of the rising sun, all elements of the hymn focus on depiction of Apollo as Helios. It is a specific function of the sun that is important for the practitioner: it is all-seeing and all-hearing, so it is able to provide the information in the shape of prophecy. Helios is described as "seeing from afar" (12), "the eye of Zeus" (13), "all-seeing" (14), "watching, encircling, hearing all men" (18). Description in the present tense features prominently and focuses on the appearance of the gleaming, fiery sun as a charioteer who completes a journey from the East to the West, from dawn to sunset (19–25). This description serves as a reminder that the god, as he transverses the world, is able to see and hear everything on his journey, and can thus be a useful source of information for the practitioner.

Having invoked the god as the sun, the practitioner returns to Apollo, who is now described as leader of the Muses and giver of song (26–29). This part of the hymn recalls the god's Delphic character. It was in Delphi that the god's cult was closely connected to Dionysus (note the mention of ivy, verse 27) and the Muses.

The Moirai are also invoked (30), probably because they too know the destiny of all creatures. As the hymn turns to the depiction of the Egyptian char-

72 Call. Hy. 2.1–2.

73 PGM 2.148–150: Let your place be cleansed of all pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god.

acteristics of the god, verses turn to prose. This part of the hymn is a detailed depiction of the sun-god in the guise of a child sitting on a lotus, and focuses on his functions as giver of light and creator of life. The different manifestations of the god in the East, North, South and West are described in detail, his various foreign epithets are invoked, and then, only after he has demonstrated his detailed knowledge of the divine being from the Greek and Egyptian perspective, the practitioner introduces himself and utters his own name (PMG 2. 128–129): "I am he (personal name follows), who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of your most great name, of which the number is 9999." Now follows a string of vowels, which resembles the god's Greek *epiphthegmata*, and a series of Apollo's Greek epithets: Paian, Kolophonios, Parnassios, Kastalios, Pythios, Phoebus, Mentor. Since most are connected to Claros and Delphi, these cult names invoke Apollo as the god of prophecy.

It is important to stress that the typically Greek and the typically Egyptian descriptions of the god are not simply two parts of the hymn from two different traditions, connected for the sake of complete representation of the god. They mirror each other and are a product of a careful editing, not mechanical agglutination. The Egyptian description of the god follows the same narrative and compositional pattern as the Greek one: divine appearance is described in detail, as is his presence in the four corners of the world, his special names and powers are narrated, and the closeness to the practitioner is stressed in both parts of the hymn.

We can conclude that the narration in PGM hymns is minimal, and divine epithets and description feature prominently. Both divine epithets and descriptions of divine appearance shape the god in the guise, which is most important for the practice at hand. The hymns include both Greek and foreign names and divine manifestations, as the cletic net is cast wide, and the impression of the practitioner as having a special, all-encompassing knowledge about the character of the god is created. The epithets and cult-places mentioned do not concentrate on one locale. Rather, there is a conscious effort to mention as many as possible relevant epithets and cult-places of the gods, an indicatio that such hymns could be performed by anyone, anywhere.

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